"The Sources of Royal Power:
A study on the migration of power structures from the kingdom of Argead Makedonia to early Ptolemaic Egypt"

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Ph.D.

30th March 2010

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THESIS ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the sources of royal power in the kingdoms of Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt. The overarching aim is to assess the degree of change and continuity between the structures and networks that framed Argead and Ptolemaic royal power.

Viewing power not as an abstraction but as the outcome of the real and observable interrelations between individuals and groups, this thesis builds upon the historical sociology of Michael Mann in order to identify four main sources of royal power: dynastic, courtly, military and economic. In their capacity to enhance or limit royal power, the social networks that are formed between the king and representatives of these groups in each context, as well as the structures that produce and reproduce their behaviour, form the focal points of this research. As such, this thesis distances itself from that segment of socio-historical tradition, which grants ultimate primacy to human agency.

The Introduction presents the main scholarly debates surrounding the nature of Ptolemaic and Argead kingship and highlights the fact that although both have received considerable attention separately, they have not yet been the focus of a systematic, comparative analysis. At the same time, this chapter brings in the theoretical and methodological framework employed in the thesis. Chapter One discusses the structural organisation of the dynasty, focusing on patterns of marriage and succession, and the manipulation of dynastic connections, real or constructed, as instruments of legitimation. It is argued that the colonial circumstances in early Ptolemaic Egypt led to an amplification of the importance of the dynasty as a source of power. Chapter Two examines the interrelations of the ruler with his extended circle of friends and associates, i.e. the courtiers. A discussion of the physical and social structure of the courts in Aigai, Pella and Alexandria in the early Ptolemaic period confirms that administration at the highest level continued to be organised around personal relations. Chapter Three identifies the enabling mechanisms, which sustained the military power of the Makedonian king. It is argued that royal military leadership and the integration of facets of military organisation (e.g. the institution of *klerouchia*) and values (through education) in society remained integral to the social

organisation of early Ptolemaic Egypt. Finally, Chapter Four examines the economic power of the ruler, as revealed by the organisation of property rights. The absence of the Makedones and the prominence of temples as economically significant groups in early Ptolemaic Egypt underline the structural discontinuities that arise from the necessary adaptation to different local conditions.

This thesis concludes that the structures that framed Argead royal power were in their majority remembered and instantiated in the organisational practices of the early Ptolemaic rulers. Deviations from the Argead paradigm occurred when pragmatism led to the introduction of corrective practices, such as the co-regency principle aimed at eradicating the dynastic instability that had plagued the Argead monarchy, and when ecological and political considerations, such as the needs of their non-Hellenic, non-Makedonian audience, dictated a greater degree of accommodation to local conditions, especially in the field of economic organisation. Even there, however, one can discern the influence of the flexible, all-inclusive model of Argead administration of its New Lands as an organisational template.

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SELECT ABBREVIATIONS

AG App.	Anthologia Graeca Appendix (1890). E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova*, vol. 3. Paris: Didot.
BNJ	*Brill's New Jacoby* (2010). Worthington, I. (ed. in chief), Brill Online, Leiden: Brill.
EKM 1. Beroia	Gounaropoulou, L., & Hatzopoulos, M.B. (1998). *Epigraphes Kato Makedonias (metaxy tou Vermiou orous kai tou Axiou potamou)*. Volume 1. Epigraphes Veroias. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
Hatz. Epig. App.	Hatzopoulos, M.B. (1996). *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings: A Historical and Epigraphic Study,* Meletemata 22, Vol.2: Epigraphic Appendix, Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
FGrHist	*Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (2010). Jacoby, F. (ed. in chief), Brill Online, Leiden: Brill.
FHG	Müller, K. (1841-1870). *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 3vols, Paris: Didot.
LSJ	Liddell, H.G., Scott, R. (1940). *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition (1989-1993). OED Online, http://dicitionary.oed.com, Oxford University Press.
SNG ANS	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Collection of the American Numismatic Society* (1969-). New York: The American Numismatic Society
Svoronos	Svoronos, J.N. (1904-1908). Ta Nomismata tou Kratous ton Ptolemaion (The Coinage of the Ptolemaic State), Athens: Bibliotheke Marasle. Available online at the Digital Library of Classical Numismatic Works, http://www.coin.com//images/dr/svoronos_book2.html, last accessed 26 March 2010

* All abbreviations involving papyri, ostraka and papyrological corpora correspond to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraka and Tablets* (2008), Sosin, J.D., Bagnall, R.S., Cowey, J., Depauw, M., Wilfong, T.G. and Worp, K.A. (eds.), Web Edition: http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html

* Personal names and geographic locations are transliterated in accordance to the ancient Hellenic spelling.

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Left: Amyntas III of Makedonia. *c.* 393-370/69 BC. AR Diobol (1.71 gm). Head of Herakles right, in lion's skin headdress / Eagle standing left, head reverted. *SNG ANS* 94, (1994), pt 8.

Right: Ptolemaios I Soter AR Tetradrachm. 305-285 BC. Obverse die signed by the artist D. Alexandria mint. Diademed bust right, in aegis; small D behind ear / ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, eagle standing left on thunderbolt; P above monogram to right.
Svoronos 265

"*… thought reveals that man is not contemporaneous with what makes him be —or with that upon the basis of which he is…*"

Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (2001, p. 364)

"[With] *the recovery of temporality as integral to social theory* […] *history and sociology become methodologically indistinguishable*."

Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (1979, pp. 7-8)

"*..remember, Fortune never stands still..*"

Darios III Kodomannos to Alexandros, Curt. *Historiae Alexandri Magni* 4.5.2.

"*History knows inertia in a relative sense only: the decisive question is whether inertia or change predominates*"

von Martin (1945) IN Carr (1961), p. 160.

INTRODUCTION

The origins of this thesis lie in a simple question. When presented with the largely ignored fact among non-experts that Kleopatra, the last Queen of Egypt, was Makedonian rather than Egyptian the most inquisitive of those non-experts follow up this 'revelation' with a candid: 'so, what else was Makedonian about Ptolemaic Kingship?' Addressing the question of change and continuity, the subject of this thesis is to examine the migration of Argead Makedonian structures in the organisation of the early Ptolemaic monarchy. The focus will be placed on those structures and networks that underpinned and sustained royal power, i.e. the sources of royal power.

There are several elements in the outward trappings of Ptolemaic kingship that welcome a comparison with its Argead counterpart, but so far organisational change and continuity between the two kingdoms has received little scholarly attention, which rarely goes beyond statements supported by commonsensical observations. Common sense, as a body of interpersonal belief, exercises an irresistible appeal to thinking minds, both as the starting point of enquiry and as the yardstick by which to measure the correctness of theoretical postulates against the reality of everyday life.[1] Ultimately, however, common sense does little to anchor the empirical observations that constitute its backbone to explanations, and in the case of history reconstructions of past systems, that could withstand close academic scrutiny. At best, according to Bertrand Russell, common sense is "naively realistic."[2] At worst, it can be equated to

[1] For the definition of common sense see Griffin (2003), p. 18. See also Russell (1945), p. 603.
[2] Russell (1927), p. 149.

the metaphysics of a pre-modern mind.[3] Moreover, in historical enquiry the employment of arguments grounded on 'common sense' carries with it the high risk of being based on anachronistic assumptions. In spite of that, it has too often been called up to serve as one of the historian's most valuable tools.[4] Against the unreliability of common sense, this thesis proposes to utilize a theoretical framework of enquiry based on social theory in order to identify the sources of royal power and a systematic analysis of the available sources in order to compare and contrast the structures and networks that sustained royal power in each case. The theory, methodology and the place of the present study within the wider literature on the subject are presented and explained in the following two sections.

In terms of chronology, the scope of this thesis will stretch from the earliest evidence on the organisation of the Argead monarchy towards the close of the 6th c. BCE, until its dissolution with the murder of Alexandros IV (315 BCE). For the Ptolemaic Kingdom the emphasis will lie on the reign of the first three Ptolemaioi (323-222 BCE), where the influence of their Makedonian background is expected to have been at its strongest. Passing references to later reigns will be made where deemed necessary.

THE DUALITIES OF KINGSHIP (AND A PTOLEMAIC LITERATURE REVIEW)

Argead prototypes are occasionally invoked as the precursors of some Ptolemaic royal practices. However, this continuity is assumed on the basis of outward similarity. As similarity can be attributed just as easily to chance as it can to consequence, the continuity of Argead structures into Ptolemaic Egypt is in need of a systematic structural analysis, which will qualify its nature and extent. The purpose of this section is to place the enquiry regarding the migration of Argead structures of royal power in Ptolemaic Egypt within the context of the relevant literature. The following discussion will present and evaluate the main dichotomies that have a bearing on an appreciation of the nature of Ptolemaic kingship. It will be argued that Makedonian tradition has been both downplayed in the face of Egyptian and Near-Eastern

[3] For the first formulation of the idea commonly re-iterated in recent literature as the view that common sense was for Russell the metaphysics of the savage, or of the Stone Age, see Russell (1926), p. 107.
[4] Heckel (1991) reviewing Borza's *In the Shadow of Olympus*.

influences, as well as frequently subsumed under the umbrella of Hellenism. At the same time, continuity has so far been an article of faith rather than the subject of analytic investigation, while undue emphasis has been placed on the ruler as the sole agent of change.

FUSION VS. SEGREGATION

Kingship in Ptolemaic Egypt has been viewed by scholarship as the political institution *par excellence*.[5] As such, interpretations of its nature have not remained immune to developments taking place in the debates regarding the nature of 'Hellenistic' culture. The definition of the adjective, coined by Bossuet in the seventeenth century to refer to the 'Hellenized' form of Hebrew used by the Jews in the Septuagint, denoted a process of linguistic acculturation that was picked up by Droysen two centuries later and elevated into an all-round theory of cultural fusion between the institutions and practices of the Makedonian conquerors and the local Egyptian population.[6] Influenced by Hegel's philosophy, which viewed history as the product of a never-ending process of thesis → antithesis → synthesis, Droysen approached 'Hellenistic' society as the outcome of the syncretism of Makedonian/Hellenic elements with Oriental.[7] His very influential thesis did not merely extend to the lower classes of immigrants and Egyptian peasants but, inevitably, contaminated ideas about the nature of the monarchy. This type of monarchy was viewed as a purely 'Hellenistic' phenomenon, which although not entirely alien to the Makedonian political culture, was, through its absolutism, an essentially oriental form of government.[8] Both the Pharaonic and Achaimenid models of kingship have been recognised as providing prototypes for Hellenistic kingship.[9] In

[5] Hölbl (2001), Bagnall IN Bingen (2007), pp. 1-14.
[6] Bossuet [2006 (1681)], p. 38.
[7] Droysen (1877-1878).
[8] See Puchala (2003), pp. 143-163. Puchala bases his argument on the worship of certain Egyptian gods by the conqueror population and the increasing appeal of oriental mystical disciplines, such as astrology and magic. These, however, have nothing to do with the organisation of the monarchy and he does not qualify which particular kingship structures set it apart as oriental. He does claim, however, (without arguing further) that the underlying reason behind the Egyptianisation of the monarchy was the inherent contradiction between the Hellenic and Makedonian systems of government, which made it more susceptible to outside influences.
[9] Pharaonic: Koenen (1983, 1993), Redford (1986), Herz (1992, 1996), Delia (1993). Achaimenid: Burstein (1994) who sees continuity in the Persian administrative apparatus in place in Egypt, Nielsen (1994) for Achaimenid influences in palace architecture. Briant (2002), followed by Ma (2003), who

addition, it has been suggested that the accommodation and incorporation of oriental forms of royal organisation into Makedonian kingship found its way into the Successor kingdoms through Alexandros' example, despite the fact that the 'orientalisation' of his rule was initially frowned upon by his Makedones.[10] As time wore on, argued the proponents of the fusion hypothesis, the orientalisation of the Ptolemaic monarchy became increasingly more pronounced.[11] According to some, the process was already in motion at least since Ptolemaios Philadelphos. In order to strengthen his colonial rule over Egypt, he had to "*revive in his person the despotic and divine power of the ancient Pharaohs*."[12] Far from taking this orientalisation as an article of faith, some specialised studies have attempted to delineate the process of the gradual Egyptianisation of the Ptolemaic monarchy, which was allegedly complete by the reign of Ptolemaios V.[13] Their evidence drew on the forms of royal *epiklesis* used in bilingual priestly decrees recovered from Egypt, written in the Hellenic language and both Demotic and Hieroglyphic Egyptian.[14] They also relied on accounts describing the coronation of Ptolemaic kings in Memphis.[15] More recently, arguments for the Egyptianisation of the Ptolemaic monarchy have found support in certain objects recovered from the underwater excavations at the port of Alexandria. These have revealed a considerable number of what has become known as *Pharaonica*; namely Pharaonic Egyptian or Egyptian-styled fragments of sphinxes, sarcophagi, statues or parts of monuments (obelisks, columns, shrines). Preliminary research has shown that

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argue that the strategies employed by the Hellenistic kings in order to achieve unity and establish their dominance derived from Achaimenid templates.

[10] For contemporary responses to Alexandros' adoption of oriental practices see Plout. *Alex*. 47.9, Plout. *Eum*. 6.3. For Alexandros' governance as the model of Hellenistic kingship, see Price (2001), p. 366, Bingen (2007). See also Samuel (1993) and Hölbl (2001): Like Alexandros' kingship, Ptolemaic kingship was a "*supranational kingship, whose legitimacy rested on military victory*," pp. 90-91. Bingen (2007) proposed a happy medium when he assigned to Alexandros' model of kingship the role of mediator between Makedonian kingship and its Hellenistic equivalent, p. 18.

[11] Hadas (1959), p. 24: The "[m]*onarchy was orientalized, and the kings became as autocratic as the Pharaohs or Babylonian kings had been*," Bell (1966), Puchala (2003), p. 156.

[12] Jouguet (1923), p. 113.

[13] For the growing Egyptianisation of Ptolemaic monarchy based on a study of royal titulary in royal priestly decrees, see Thissen (1966), Onasch (1976). They argue that Ptolemaic monarchy was Egyptianised by Ptolemaios V. Austin (2006) argues that this Egyptianisation knew an impetus from the reign of Ptolemaios IV onwards, p. 491. For Mahaffy (1905) the Ptolemaic monarchy had become completely Egyptian certainly by Ptolemaios IX, p. 77.

[14] The Kanopos Decree (reign of Ptolemaios III – *CGC* 22187, *OGIS* 56), the Memphis Decree (also known as the Pithom Stele or the Stele of Raphia, reign of Ptolemaios IV – *CGC* 22183), the Memphis Decree (famously known as the Rosetta Stone, reign of Ptolemaios V - *CGC* 22188, *OGIS* 90), *OGIS* 739 (reign of Ptolemaios IX).

[15] Koenen (1977) followed by Green (1990), p. 405 argue that from Alexandros III onwards the Ptolemaioi were crowned as Pharaohs in Memphis. *Contra* Burstein (1991), who finds no explicit evidence in support of this.

some of them date to the earlier Pharaonic period and were transferred to Alexandria from their original contexts, while others were produced during the Ptolemaic period in conformity to the Pharaonic tradition.[16] Given the recentness of some of the finds, it would be premature to draw firm conclusions regarding their function in the Ptolemaic capital. However, their presence and style is crucial in deciphering the cultural identity of Alexandria as promoted by the kings. Yoyotte has used the evidence to suggest the conscious Egyptianisation of the Ptolemaic capital already in the early stages of Ptolemaic rule.[17]

Droysen's theory of syncretism between foreign and local structures and the ensuing orientalisation of kingship was dealt its most decisive blow by Préaux's synthetic, revisionist work, *Le Monde Hellénistique*.[18] The primary drawback of Droysen's theory was its reliance on literary material, especially Ploutarchos. As the amount and ease of access of archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic and papyrological evidence multiplied a different, less idealised, but more direct picture emerged. The mutual and equal interpenetration of cultures proposed by the theory of fusion could no longer be supported by the evidence. Rather, conceptualisations of social interaction at all levels of society in the Hellenistic kingdoms began favouring a stricter segregation between the local and conqueror social systems.[19] While the proponents of fusion argued that "*the ancient culture…of the Kingdoms of the Near East became inextricably fused with the polity and civilization of the Greek world*," the 'segregationists' challenged them by maintaining that fusion was limited and extended only to marginal groups at the fringes of society.[20] There was no longer a question of coalescence, as Lewis put it, but of coexistence of structures and it was seldom, if at all, that one could claim to have "*their feet in both worlds*."[21] At the centre of Ptolemaic kingship, according to the segregationists, the Alexandrian élite remained "*fiercely chauvinistic in its Greekness*," while the Ptolemaioi conceived themselves as Hellenic kings alone.[22] Moreover, in the face of new evidence, the arguments for the growing Egyptianisation of the Ptolemaic monarchy described above were gradually brought

[16] This evidence is still largely understudied. Current researchers include Gallo and his team from the University of Torino, see the text of his presentation at the conference *Les Pharaonica d'Alexandrie* (2001). On the underwater excavations at Alexandria see Empereur (1998), Goddio & Clauss (2006).
[17] Yoyotte IN Goddio (1998). *Contra* Gallo (2001).
[18] Droysen was followed by Rostovtzeff (1941), p. 1040, Tarn & Griffith (1952), p. 3. Préaux (1978).
[19] In addition to Préaux (1978), see Lewis (1986).
[20] Smith (1974) cited in Lewis (1986), p. 159, n. 4. Will (1979) called these spheres the "*fringes of co-penetration*."
[21] Lewis (1986), p. 4, Samuel (1989), p. 9.
[22] Zanker cited in Hunter (2003), pp. 47-48, Préaux (1978).

into question. One is forced to consider the authority behind the bilingual priestly decrees, which was none other than the priests of the native religious order. For them, the Ptolemaioi were the ruling dynasty to which they had to confer the same honours as to any other Pharaoh of the past.[23] Therefore, it is more likely that it was them who bestowed Pharaonic-styled *epikleseis* to the Ptolemaioi and not the Ptolemaioi who demanded them.[24] The sheer volume of the evidence that has accumulated from Egypt also brings to the foreground the relative scarcity of material that can be used as evidence for the 'Egyptianisation' of the monarchy. Compared to royal decrees issued directly by the Ptolemaic king the priestly decrees are few and far between. To make matters worse, one becomes aware that even among the decrees written in the Egyptian language there are discrepancies in the use of *epikleseis*. In some, the Ptolemaic kings are addressed by Pharaonic titulary, while in others they are simply referred to by name followed by the sign denoting "*of the foreign people*".[25] Further, there are only two kings whose coronation as Pharaohs in Memphis is unequivocally evidenced.[26] Finally, as far as the presence of *Pharaonica* in Alexandria is concerned, Yoyotte's interpretation can be challenged by the following observation: the number of demotic inscriptions from Alexandria (less than a dozen have been catalogued) is but a small fraction of the overall number of recovered inscriptions, which are otherwise written in the Hellenic language.[27] The fact that the Ptolemaioi were using Pharaonic-styled statuary to adorn the Alexandrine Sarapeion and portray themselves, does not detract from the essential Hellenic character of the Ptolemaic capital, which was, after all, built by a Makedonian architect (Deinokrates) and which, according to Strabon, contained all the standard features of a Hellenic polis (i.e. an Agora, law-courts, a gymnasion, a theatre and stoai).[28]

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[23] Especially when one considers the religious imperative of the priestly class not to break the Pharaonic order of succession, see Burstein (1991).
[24] See Johnson (1995).
[25] Lewis (1986), pp. 159-160, n. 6.
[26] Ptolemaios V was crowned with the *Pschent* crown (Rosetta Stone - *CGC* 22188, *OGIS* 90, ll. 46-47). Ptolemaios VIII was crowned according to Egyptian ritual (Diod. 33.13.1). For doubts on the coronation of Alexandros, see Burstein (1991).
[27] Gallo (2001) argues that the *Pharaonica* do not provide adequate evidence to support the thesis of an Egyptianised Alexandria in the early Ptolemaic period. At most they attest to the tolerance of Ptolemaic rulers towards the religious sensibilities of the native Egyptian clergy in conjunction with the promotion of the Hellenic-Egyptian syncretistic cult of Sarapis. Similarly, the portrayal of individual Ptolemaic rulers as Pharaohs can be explained as part of the same policy of appeasement towards the Egyptian priestly class, see also Huss (1994), Stanwick (2002). As far as the presence of authentic Pharaonic statuary in Alexandria is concerned, Gallo (2001) attributes the transfer of the works to the Roman period.
[28] Strab. 17.10.

HELLENIC VS. MAKEDONIAN

Firmly rooted in primary sources, the segregationist approach offers a much more realistic appreciation of Ptolemaic kingship than the theory of syncretism. At the same time, however, it tends to overemphasize the influence of Hellenism at the highest level.[29] The evidence that associates Ptolemaic kingship with the Egyptian and Persian royal traditions cannot be ignored. In recent years it has become commonplace to speak of the 'duality of Ptolemaic Kingship'.[30] This concept essentially brings together earlier notions of fusion between ideologies of kingship and the thorough examination of all the available evidence. The main assumption behind this approach can be summarised in the words of Ma: "…*the Hellenistic kings exist merely as a bundle of local commitments, a series of roles assigned by the subjects, an endless and ubiquitous process of exchange and negotiation to achieve acceptance by different constituencies*."[31] For a long time the only referent groups recognized in Ptolemaic Egypt were the Hellenes that had migrated to Egypt, and the local population.[32] However, Ptolemaic kingship in fact catered for *three* different *audiences*: the Egyptians, the Hellenes *and* the Makedones. For the Egyptians the Ptolemaic kings were the successors of the Pharaohs. In turn, the Ptolemaioi took measures to present themselves as such. For the Hellenic immigrants, who inhabited the cities they founded or sponsored, the majority of which originated from *polis* environments and, hence, was inclined to be suspicious of monarchic régimes, the Ptolemaioi became philosopher-kings and benefactors, in accordance with the prescripts of the late classical philosophical writings on kingship.[33] Finally, to their peers and fellow Makedones, with whom they shared the same aristocratic and ethnic background accordingly, the Ptolemaic kings were, and would present themselves as, Makedonian monarchs.[34] It should be stressed that the organisation of the monarchy cannot be viewed merely, as might be inferred from Ma, as a one-way process by which the ruler tailored his performance in response to the expectations of his various audiences. His actions were also informed by his own background, education and experience. As such, the Makedonian contribution to the

[29] Bosworth (1977) argues for the exclusive influence of Hellenic prototypes in the self-representation of Alexandros and Ptolemaios I as kings.
[30] Koenen (1993) with bibliography n. 2, Ma (2003), Burstein (2007), pp. 36-37.
[31] Ma (2003), p. 183.
[32] Chauveau (1997), p. 33 on making the distinction simply between Hellenes and Egyptians.
[33] See Braund (2000).
[34] Samuel (1989), p. 28, Ma (2003).

development of Ptolemaic royal structures deserves more than the cursory attention that has hitherto been accorded to it.

The distillation of particularly Makedonian elements from under the generic umbrella of Hellenism in Ptolemaic Egypt is not something that scholars have always paid attention to. At times, given the degree of emigration from a host of different *poleis* from the southern extremity of the Balkan Peninsula to Ptolemaic Egypt it must have appeared convenient to conflate Hellenic with Makedonian in order to evade complex issues of differentiation. A characteristic example is the lecture of Barns in 1966 where in his speech on the relations of Egyptians and Hellenes from the period of the New Kingdom until well into the establishment of Christianity, the Ptolemaioi are consistently referred to as Hellenic kings belonging to a Hellenic royal house and administering a Hellenic ruling élite. The undue conflation in scholarship of Makedonian and Hellenic royal structures under the heading Graeco-Makedonian or, even just Hellenic has led to the consistent lack of emphasis on the influence of Makedonian structures in the organisation of kingship.[35] It is telling of the prevalence of this attitude that a recent introduction to the nature of the monarchy in Ptolemaic Egypt contains a section on its Egyptian and Hellenic background but nothing on the Makedonian.[36] To be sure, such a conflation between Hellenes and Makedones is not altogether wrong. A generic dubbing of the immigrant population into Egypt as Hellenic is understandable insofar as we are aware of large numbers of former inhabitants of various city–states flooding into Egypt, each bringing with them, in precise outlines, their civic culture. In addition, the Makedonian rulers themselves, since at least the times of Archelaos in the fifth century BCE, were consciously open to cultural influences and welcomed interaction from the city-state world. They actively participated in southern Hellenic culture in every sense.[37] However, notwithstanding the similarities that the Makedonian and Hellenic cultural traditions shared, especially in the field of military and economic organisation, their political cultures were strikingly dissimilar. Given the characteristic differences between the Hellenic and Makedonian political and social systems (in terms of administration, decision-making, and social stratification, to name but a few) and the fact that the Ptolemaic ruling élite was and remained distinctly and self-consciously Makedonian, especially during the

[35] Samuel (1983), Lewis (1986).
[36] Thompson (2003), pp. 113-114.
[37] Shipley (2000), p. 60.

formative years of its rule over Egypt, the undertaking of a systematic analysis of the structures that underpinned its organisation is, in the opinion of the author, imperative for the understanding of Ptolemaic kingship.

CHANGE VS. CONTINUITY

Writing on time and its relation to history Braudel professed that "*It is not so much the passage of time itself which is a figment of our imagination as the fragments into which we divide it*".[38] In 2000, N.G.L. Hammond, the veteran of Makedonian studies, acknowledged the fact that, up to the present day, the reign of Alexandros the Great has often been treated as a watershed, with scholars limiting their study to either side of that artificial divide.[39] The artificiality of periodisation in history is nowhere more evident than in the creation of the much-disputed designation 'Hellenistic.' The term was first applied by Droysen, who in the 1830s approached with a keen interest the "*cramped* […], *degraded* […]" and "*no longer interesting to the reader or operative on the destinies of the future world*" post-Alexandrian period.[40]

The most straightforward reason that has contributed to the segmentation of scholarly interest concerning the Hellenic world from the late fourth century BCE until the consolidation of the Roman Empire towards the close of the first century BCE appears to be the new set of circumstances that emerged after the extraordinary career of Alexandros III of Makedonia. To some, Alexandros "*stands as the end of the ancient world and as the beginning of the new age, the omega and the alpha.*"[41] Overwhelming metaphors aside, this segmentation has practical merit indeed if one focuses on the writing of narrative history or what Braudel called *histoire événementielle*. Alexandros manifestly did change the face of the political map of the known world. With the break-up of his short-lived empire the scholar has to reckon with the formation of distinctly new political units in need of independent and/or parallel histories. As for the 'Old World', i.e. the city-state world of the Hellenic mainland and coast of Asia Minor, this in its turn had suffered the transformations inherent in any shift of the

[38] Braudel (1973), p. 424.
[39] Hammond (2000), p. 141.
[40] As this would be described by Grote (1846-1856) a few decades later, I, p. x. In the span of a decade Droysen wrote a History of Alexandros (1833), his Diadochoi (Successors-1836) and their Epigonoi (the Successor dynasties until 220 BCE-1843). These works were republished as a single study under the title *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (1877), which proved more influential than its constituent parts alone.
[41] Rice (1997), p. 190.

balance of power. However, as demonstrated by the growing realisations that the narrative should no longer be regarded as an end in itself and that the world might not "*present itself as a suitable candidate for story-telling*" after all, the history of institutions cannot profit from such segmentation.[42]

In those instances where continuity between Argead Makedonian and Hellenistic structures is proposed as a social reality, it is more often than not the case that it is readily taken for granted, rather than analysed.[43] Statements such as: the Ptolemaioi "*preserved their Macedonian roots*" or "*human relations had their roots in Macedonian tradition*," appear not so infrequently in the literature.[44] Few scholars, however, have carried the analysis further. What is more, such comparisons and lines of continuity are usually drawn only as far back as the reign of Philippos II. References to the Makedonian rulers and structures before him are few and far between.[45] Briant and Hammond are among the few scholars to have attempted an examination of the continuity of distinct Makedonian institutions into the Hellenistic Kingdoms.[46] Briant focused on Seleukid Asia, while Hammond's scope was wide enough to encompass the entire Hellenistic world. Some of the latter's observations, however, bear a direct relevance to Ptolemaic Egypt. The major contribution of both these scholars is that they transcended the chronological and geographical confines of the Hellenistic era, so zealously guarded by others. Samuel, for instance, considers it unproductive to examine Hellenistic kingship as the product of evolution from the kingship of Philippos and Alexandros. This is because he viewed Ptolemaic, and by extent Hellenistic, kingship as an isolated phenomenon, the product of very unique socio-political circumstances.[47] However, in agreement with Hammond and Briant, this thesis shares the premise that the study of structures and institutions and their

[42] Morley (1999) argues that the function of narrative is primarily to pave the way for the interpretation of the events in question, p. 101. Quote from White (1987), p. 24.
[43] Walbank (1984), Roy (1998), Hölbl (2001), p. 92.
[44] Hölbl (2001), p. 92, La'da (2003), Bingen (2007), p. 17. See, however, Ogden (1999) for a rare discussion of the Argead structures of polygamy and their relevance to the organisation of the Hellenistic dynasties. See also the studies of Weber G. (1997) and Herman (1997) on the Hellenistic courts. Both hint at the structural similarities between the Hellenistic and Argead court practices.
[45] Consider the influential work of Préaux (1978), where she states *in passim* that in matters of military and political practice, the Makedonian monarchy, such as the Successors had seen it practiced under Philippos, was the model for the Hellenistic kingdoms, p. 182.
[46] Briant (1982, 1994, 2002, 2006), Hammond (1989, 1993, 2000).
[47] Samuel (1989), pp. 22-23.

evolution cannot be affected by putative chronological markers, such as the death of Alexandros the Great in 323 BCE.[48]

Hammond's approach, although largely descriptive, is a commendable starting point for the discussion on the migration of the structures that framed monarchical power in Argead Makedonia into early Ptolemaic Egypt. He identified Makedonian influences in the divine ancestry of the kings, ancestor worship and worship of individual kings, the promotion of the Makedonian ancestry of the rulers, the role of an Assembly in the election and deposition of kings, the Assembly of the Makedones and their role as a law court, the oaths of loyalty and obedience to the king, and the issuing of equipment to the army by the king.[49] However, his research conclusions, as well as the direction of his enquiries as a whole, were resisted by other Makedonian experts. The main argument of the opposition, spearheaded by Borza, was that the lacunose state of the Makedonian evidence rendered the reconstruction of the institutions of the Makedonian state very problematic. This in itself precluded any attempt to compare them fruitfully with other political units, consequently negating, according to this line of thought, the possibility of migration of Makedonian institutions in any of the Successor Kingdoms.[50] Since the last voices of dissent were raised though, significant works on Makedonian history and epigraphy have been published, which make it unproductive and anachronistic to write off the study of Makedonian influence on the Hellenistic Kingdoms on the grounds of ignorance.[51]

In addition, further templates for the study of monarchical power and the origins of its structures in Ptolemaic Egypt are provided by recent scholarship on the Seleukid Kingdom. Since Bickerman, the institutional history of the Seleukidai has profited from the work of Billows and Briant, who have both studied the influence of Makedonian structures in Seleukid Asia, and Capdetrey, who examined the organisation of Seleukid royal power.[52] The work of these three scholars is relevant in the context of this thesis for making the following contributions. Billows' study of Makedonian imperialism in the Seleukid East set out to *prove* what has rather been

[48] See also Bugh's (2006) introduction to the Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World: "*The many and diverse aspects* [of Hellenistic history, the dubbing of which as such is a *choice of convenience and custom*] *cannot all be inserted into a timeline, any more than thinking that the Greeks woke up on June 11, 323 B.C., with the e-news of Alexander's death and pulled out their "New Era" calendars*."

[49] Hammond (2000).

[50] Borza IN Hammond (1993), Samuel IN Hammond (1993), Borza (1999).

[51] The most important body of work is published in the *Meletemata* series by the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity. See especially Hatzopoulos (1991, 1994, 1996), Guimier-Sorbet et al. (2006).

[52] Briant (1994, 2006), Billows (1995), Briant & Joannès (2006), Capdetrey (2007).

frequently assumed so far; that the Hellenistic monarchies shared some common features deriving from their Makedonian background.[53] Briant addressed some of the methodological challenges inherent in an analysis of structural change and continuity, focusing on the necessity to distinguish between local inherited traditions and transferred Makedonian institutions. He emphasized that any evaluation of Hellenistic structures in the transitional period following Alexandros' conquest should take into account evidence pertaining to the fourth century Persian administration it had supplanted. Finally, Capdetrey's thorough study of Seleukid royal power and its organisation, especially in the early formative period under Seleukos I and Antiochos I, is useful in that it can provide a model for the study of monarchical power in Ptolemaic Egypt. Excluding the field of economic history, where notable advancements have been made, Ptolemaic institutional history remains overall, viewed largely through a descriptive lens.[54]

AGENCY VS. STRUCTURE

A final observation deriving from the literature review is that scholarship has unduly overemphasised the individual personalities of rulers as agents of change. This has led to a disregard of the fundamental structures and the networks of interdependence that were to an extent responsible for shaping their behaviour. The view of the Ptolemaic king as an autocrat, who operated on a *carte blanche*, was first introduced by Droysen and was followed by Claire Préaux and Mikhail Rostovtzeff, whose magisterial monographs laid down the foundations for the study of Ptolemaic political, economic and social history.[55] To date, it is commonplace to describe the Ptolemaic monarchy in terms of absolutism.[56] Although there is no evidence to suggest that the power of the king in Ptolemaic Egypt was formally constrained by any other institution within the state, such as an Assembly, this view has sidetracked historians into granting ultimate primacy to the personality of the Ptolemaic ruler for the organisation of the kingdom. In his influential overview of Hellenistic *Monarchies and Monarchic Ideas*, Walbank argued that "[i]*t is the king's personal qualities which form the*

[53] Billows (1995), pp. xiv-xv.
[54] The last decade has seen the publication of two important all-encompassing histories of the Ptolemaic Kingdom, Hölbl (2001), Huss (2001). Both, however, are traditionally descriptive in their approach.
[55] Droysen (1877-1878), Préaux (1978, 1979), Rostovtzeff (1941). Cf. Corradi (1929).
[56] Green (1990), "*There can be no doubt that Ptolemy was firmly in charge; an absolute monarch*," Ellis (1994), pp. 60-61. Chauveau (1997), Garnsey (2000), Bosworth (2006) to name but a few.

justification of his rule; and the absolutism of his rule itself provides the field within which those qualities find their fulfilment."[57] Equally, Samuel concluded his long exposé on the components of the Ptolemaic royal ideology with the assessment that the king was "*ruling by qualities of character rather than position*."[58] However, the emphasis on the personal qualities of the ruler as the determinant of social and political action and, hence social and political change, ignores the structures and networks within which the ruler's actions were bound and demonstrates that the study of ancient history itself is still bound to the prescripts of Carlyle's heroic determinism, whereby history is the consequence of individual actions and as such can be infinitely malleable by 'great men.'[59]

Structures, as principles of organisation, which sustain "recognizably consistent forms of time-space distanciation," are more constraining to individual action than the scholarly consensus on the nature of Ptolemaic monarchy allows.[60] The primacy of structure vs. action or of society vs. the individual agent in social behaviour, and by extent social change, has been the battlefield of sociological theory for almost two centuries now.[61] Some structural theories (although structuralism overall is far from being a unified school) emphasise the existence in society of a web of *social facts* that have a constraining effect on the actions of the individual, to the point of depriving them of their autonomy.[62] Actors are the product of structure, rather than its authors. The latter is the founding premise of action theories, which stress the capacity of the agent for voluntary, undetermined action.[63] This thesis adopts the definition of 'structure' developed by Giddens in his formulation of Structuration theory. According to Giddens the term refers to the "*binding* […] *properties* [rules and resources] *which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend them systemic form*."[64] In effect, structure is no longer treated as something entirely 'external' to the actions of the

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[57] Walbank (1984), p. 80.
[58] Samuel (1993), p. 192.
[59] Carlyle (1963), see also Sztompka (1993), pp. 259-273. This is as much a phenomenon in Ptolemaic as it is in Argead scholarship, see following section.
[60] Giddens (1984), p. 181, see further Glossary s.v. *time-space distanciation*. Braudel (1973) defined structures loosely as "recurring frameworks of reality" extending through historical time and space, p. 411.
[61] See further Sztompka (1993).
[62] Glazer (1996). In Durkheim's definition social facts are "*every way of acting which is general throughout a given society*," (1938, pp. 13, 28).
[63] Scott & Marshall (2005), s.v. *action theory, action frame of reference*.
[64] Giddens (1984), p. 17.

agent, but can be seen as both the medium (production) and the outcome (reproduction) of the agent's social practices.[65] In this process structures are only existent when remembered and/or instantiated through action by individuals across generations.

In the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, the relevant structures that produced and reproduced the actions of the ruler can be found in the political and social traditions of royal organisation that preceded the Ptolemaic assumption of rule in Egypt. On the one hand, the early Ptolemaic sovereigns originated from a vital political culture of their own; one that was not so distant in time and the memory of which, as well as the subsequent degree of its replication through action, cannot be ignored.[66] On the other, the experience of Alexandros' reign and the traditions of royal organisation already in place in Pharaonic and Persian Egypt were also influential. On a theoretical level, they both consisted of sequences of events, which had the capacity to prompt institutional change.[67] More specifically, the first-hand experience of the Successors in observing how a vast territory with a multi-ethnic subject base was managed by Alexandros, but also how his Argead predecessors, also avid expansionists, administered newly-added territories to the Makedonian state, as well as their gradual familiarisation with the structures and processes through which Egypt was traditionally ordered in the Persian and Pharaonic periods were equally significant parameters in shaping their own organisation of royal power.

In conclusion, recourse to the relevant academic literature for insights on the question of the possible migration of Makedonian structures in Ptolemaic Egypt, and in particular of those structures connected to the organisation of the monarchy and the power of the king, reveals that, in all its unmasked simplicity, the degree of Makedonian influence is a little studied facet of Ptolemaic institutional history. Indeed, the survey of the literature has demonstrated that to the present day, the histories of Argead Makedonia and Ptolemaic Egypt have been kept largely segregated, discouraging discussions on structural change and continuity between

[65] This Giddens recognises as the 'duality of structure.'

[66] Cf. Giddens (1984), p. 377: "*Structure only exists as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action*."

[67] Giddens calls these events 'episodes.' Episodic characterisation is a phrase coined by Giddens (1984) for marking significant sequences of change in definite contexts. The Asian Expedition and the assumption of the Egyptian satrapy by Ptolemaios I, which brought the Makedones in close contact with local organisational cultures, can be considered as such.

them. In addition, the shifting interpretations of Hellenistic culture, viewed through the lens of fusion theorists and segregationists have overemphasized Near Eastern and Hellenic influences in the nature of Ptolemaic kingship. The purpose of this thesis is not to negate or diminish the influence of other traditions. Rather, it is to examine the structure of Ptolemaic kingship beyond the influence of the character of individual kings and from a geo-historical angle that has hitherto been overlooked (Argead Makedonia). This will be achieved by building on the work of Hammond, Briant and others who have studied the continuity of Makedonian institutions in the Hellenistic and Seleukid contexts. In response to critics (Samuel, Borza) who are sceptical of the relevance of Makedonian royal structures of power to their Hellenistic equivalents one can quote Briant's justification for tackling the issue of continuity of Achaimenid institutions in the Seleukid context: "*Observations banales et de bon sens? Certes! Mais, on dois bien constater, pour le déplorer, qu'elles ne sont guère mises en pratique par les historiens*."[68]

The Structures of Royal Power (and an Argead Literature Review)

The purpose of this section is to present a critical overview of the main power structures that have been associated with Argead Makedonian kingship in scholarship thus far. It will become evident that the nature of the evidence has prompted a variety of competing interpretations. The following will involve an examination of the two main schools of thought that have developed regarding the structural organisation of power in the Makedonian monarchy, followed by a critique of their method and content. Responding to that critique a third way of approaching the subject will be proposed, which will be thoroughly discussed in the section on Theory and Methodology.

Earlier Views on the Structure of the Makedonian Monarchy

The breakdown of Makedonian kingship into its constituent structures was first attempted by Granier in the 1930s.[69] Before him, Makedonian political organisation had scarcely been the subject of attention. An exception is Edward Farr,

[68] Briant (1982), p. 304.
[69] Granier (1931).

who in 1850 discussed the position of the Makedonian ruler in his *History of the Macedonians*. The work is a controversial history of the successive Makedonian rulers with no bibliography, methodologically uncritical use of ancient literary sources and rife with the author's unmasked Christian ethics bias.[70] The book is interesting, nevertheless, in that Farr attempted for the first time to delineate the structures of power that made up the monarchy in Argead Makedonia.[71] The structures he identified have been italicised for the reader's convenience.

First of all, royal conduct was circumscribed by *a body of law*, based on natural equity, which was in existence since the establishment of the kingdom.[72] This body of law allowed the rulers to act as guardians of the kingdom but prevented them from transgressing the boundaries of their authority. *Succession* to that authority was *hereditary*, even if occasionally less than straightforward.[73] Most deliberative powers rested with the king, although in the area of justice, and in particular in the judgement of capital cases, it was *the Makedonian army and/or people* that were called on to pass the sentence.[74] In regard to the exercise of government, the king was assisted by his *friends*, both in manning the necessary posts and in holding consultations.[75] Further, Farr recognised that the organisation of the *Makedonian royal household* was important in understanding the ways in which power was organised. However, in this case Farr was more concerned with the household troops, singling out the Bodyguards as the most important among them, rather than with the members of the king's family.[76] In this respect, he disregarded the role of royal women and their offspring altogether. Finally, Farr distinguished between the king's *priestly*, *military* and *economic* power.[77] He discussed the occasional officiating of kings in Makedonian religious rites, their position as the supreme military commanders in war and their role in exploiting Makedonia's natural resources in precious metals as their most important source of revenue.

Farr's conceptualisation of the Makedonian monarch as a fatherly autocrat "*united in one common bond of affection*" with his subjects, constrained by the legal

[70] Farr (1850). For instances of his bias see his dismissal of the "*vain and ridiculous rites that made up the sum of the religion of the Macedonians*" (p. 28) or, his appreciation of the warlike nature of the Makedonian people as a consequence of their "*evil*" paganism, p. 32.
[71] Farr (1850), ch. III, "The History of the Polity of the Macedonians," pp. 25-34.
[72] Farr (1850), p. 25.
[73] Farr (1850), p. 25.
[74] Farr (1850), p. 26.
[75] Farr (1850), p. 27.
[76] Farr (1850), p. 28.
[77] Farr (1850), pp. 29, 33-34.

boundaries of his office, does not take scholarship very far.[78] More than the imperfect evidence Farr relies on, his interpretation hinges upon the methodological fallacy of translating a purely political (and ancient) organisation in contemporary Christian spiritual terms. Despite all that, Farr's general categories have remained largely the centre of focus in subsequent debate.

Following the admonitions of Fustel de Coulanges against the fallacy of anachronism, scholarly work of the late nineteenth century onwards became increasingly focused on the analysis of the 'primary' sources. This was the direction that studies in Makedonian kingship and society took as well, with Hammond's systematic textual criticism and first hand knowledge of the geography of Makedonia taking historical investigation to new levels of realistic reconstruction.[79] As the following exposition of the debate regarding the nature of Makedonian kingship will show, however, emphasis on the sources in the case of Makedonia can only guarantee glimpses of its organisation.

ABSOLUTISM VS. CONSTITUTIONALISM

The publication of Granier's *Die Makedonische Heerversammlung* brought the constitution of the Makedonian monarchy to the forefront of Makedonian scholarship. Since then, many of the structures initially regarded as interacting with the power of the monarchy have been put under serious scrutiny. Granier's main thesis, known as the 'constitutionalist' approach, identified two sources of power: the *king* and his army, as represented by an *assembly of men-in-arms*. Almost two decades later, Aymard added to those a *body of traditional norms* that was accepted and, at least in theory, had to be respected by the king and the Makedones alike.[80] The view of the Makedonian monarchy as constituted by the king, an Army Assembly and a Makedonian system of laws prevailed until the 1970s, when it was slightly modified by Briant.[81] He suggested that the Assembly of the Makedones could be a popular one (meeting without arms) or a military (with arms) depending on whether the Kingdom

[78] Farr (1850), p. 27.
[79] His *magnum opus* (in collaboration with Griffith and Walbank) *A History of Macedonia* in three volumes remains the point of reference for students of Makedonia. For a list of his major works see bibliography.
[80] Aymard (1948, 1950, 1950b).
[81] Briant (1973).

was at peace or war respectively.[82] This constitutional theoretical model posits that Makedonian kingship had evolved from the heroic military kingship of the archaic period.[83] Accordingly, it argues that the Assembly was the formalised version of the once unceremonious, but steadfast relationship of reciprocal trust and obligations that warriors shared with their leader. In this interrelation, the king was regarded as a *primus inter pares*. As the scattered regional groups of lower Makedonia came together into a more coherent political unit, the Assembly of Makedones, in both times of peace and war, came to enjoy sovereign power alongside the king.[84] This power, following Aymard, was guaranteed by a political *νόμος*.[85] The functions of all three structures, therefore, were rigidly prescribed and king and assembly alike formally limited the extent of each other's power.[86]

Constitutionalism has been challenged on various levels, ranging from minor amendments to its *in toto* rejection by the so-called 'absolutist' school, spearheaded by Errington, from the 1970s onwards.[87] The grounds for attacking Granier's theoretical model were to be found in the emphasis its critics lay on the stricter reliance on the sources and the facts related therein. For them, there was simply not enough evidence from the period preceding the reigns of Philippos II and Alexandros III to confirm the existence of a formal body of norms, laws or customs that constrained royal power and that allocated constitutional sovereignty to other groups within the kingdom. Similarly, it was argued that those last two reigns were so unique in their circumstances that it would be methodologically flawed to take contemporary evidence as reflecting earlier practice.[88] And, indeed, any attempt to identify Argead structures reading back from Hellenistic evidence was considered little more than a leap of faith.[89] According to the absolutists, there was but one recognised source of

[82] Briant's view of a popular assembly was rejected by Hammond (1972-1988) who insisted that the evidence suggests that the Assembly met only under arms, regardless of whether the Kingdom was at peace or war. From that, he draws the conclusion that the so-called 'Makedones' were only those men bearing arms in the King's service, II, pp. 160-162.
[83] Granier had in mind the Homeric model and that of the chieftain groups of Germania, as described by Tacitus.
[84] For the evolution and establishment of the Makedonian Kingdom, see the account by Hammond (1983).
[85] Aymard (1950b), p. 127.
[86] Proponents of variations of constitutionalism include Aymard (1950), Briant (1973), Hammond (1989) and most recently Hatzopoulos (1996). For further work by these authors see bibliography.
[87] The first to reject Granier's thesis was de Fransisci (1948). See also Errington (1974, 1978, 1983, 1990). See also Lock (1977) and Anson (1985, 1991, 2008). See also Borza (1992), pp. 231-252. For an intermediate position see Mooren (1983).
[88] Borza (1992), pp. 232-234.
[89] Borza (1992), p. 233.

power and that was the *king*. Unfettered by any constitutional restrictions, be they laws, customs or organised groups exercising legitimate authority, it was the strength of the ruler's personality combined with other exogenous factors, such as his economic wealth and the current politico-military situation both within the Kingdom and abroad, which determined the extent of his power. As succinctly put by one proponent of this position, the "*king could do exactly what he could get away with*."[90]

The profoundly contradictory interpretations proposed regarding the nature of the Makedonian monarchy are exemplary of the problem of a fragmentary source record. Such is the nature of the evidence that some of its pieces lend themselves to conflicting interpretations. For instance, the same excerpts of Arrianos and Curtius have been used both to support and refute the existence of binding traditions and a Makedonian Assembly.[91] It seems that what scholars are in reality battling out is not the structural organisation of Makedonian kingship *per se*, but rather the methods used to discern its components. We have already seen how the absolutist side has accused the constitutionalists of making unsubstantiated assumptions for pre-Philippic Makedonia based on later Alexandrian and Hellenistic material. It is remarkable to note that adherents of the constitutionalist school have pressed the exact same critique of the methodology of the absolutists.[92] However, the chief bone of contention between the two schools is the use of theory. The author believes that, at this point, the division between constitutionalists and absolutists, a division based on the content of the debate, becomes secondary. Following Mooren, this thesis will revert to the distinction between maximalists and minimalists, a division catering to the methodological approach each favours.[93] Maximalists, on the one hand, are generally keen to test theoretical models, such as the notion of *Staatsrecht*, on ancient political units and proceed deductively according to the evidence. Minimalists, on the other, follow a largely atheoretical approach. Refusing to go beyond the contemporary sources, which they subject to thorough textual criticism, the minimalists' professed aim is a more realistic and unbiased appreciation of the past. According to one critic of the maximalist approach, they [the constitutionalists] "*have attempted to force the practice*

[90] Borza (1992), p. 238.
[91] Most notably: Curt. 6.8.25 (Errington, 1978 *contra* Briant, 1973), Arr. 4.11.6 (Errington, 1978 & Lock, 1977 *contra* Aymard, 1950b).
[92] Commenting on Errington (1978) Hammond argues that "*he makes the mistake, shared by almost all writers on this subject, of working backwards from the Hellenistic period and preferring Latin writers such as Curtius to contemporary Greek inscriptions and writers*," (1980), p. 463, n. 29.
[93] Mooren (1983), pp. 212-213, n. 28, based on terminology borrowed from discussions on Alexandros III (Schachermeyr 1973, p. 637 and Badian 1976, p. 293, n. 2.)

of Macedonian politics to fit preconceived modern theories which are out of place in the context of the unsophisticated Macedonian state."[94] However, it cannot be argued that the meticulous attention that minimalists pay to the sources renders the absolutist approach any stronger. On the contrary, on some occasions the source criticism applied is so harsh that authors end up rejecting (arbitrarily according to critics) a good deal of the already scarce available evidence as inconsequential.[95] A case in point is Lock's dismissal of Curtius' "*vetustus Macedonum modus*" as an uncorroborated choice of wording by an author who cannot be trusted "*to have observed nice distinctions of constitutional usage*."[96]

In 1983 Mooren addressed the discrepancy between the two approaches by suggesting for the first time that when it comes to the nature of the Makedonian monarchy "*it seems not unlikely that the answer is to be sought somewhere between the 'maximalist' and the 'minimalist' views.*"[97] Although he admitted he could not provide a solid compromise, he attempted to re-evaluate the key evidence regarding the exercise of royal power in Makedonia. In his analysis he argued that the *Makedones* were "*an integral component*" of the monarchy and that a Makedonian *nomos* (in the form of a body of unwritten customs or traditions) existed beyond reasonable doubt.[98] In sum, the Argead king's power was not unconstrained, hence not absolute, even though there were no formal constitutional obligations in place for either the ruler or the people to abide by.

In agreement with Mooren's proposition, which remains unchallenged more than twenty years after its formulation, this thesis holds that neither of the two principal models is satisfactory, both in terms of content and method. On the one hand, the attempt of the maximalists to force the evidence into a preconceived

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[94] Lock (1977), p. 97.

[95] See Goukowsky (1978), who even though sympathetic to the unitary nature of Makedonian kingship, refused to consider Lock's argument against the judicial role of the army and people, because "*cet auteur rejette arbitrairement les textes qui le gênent*…" I, p. 232, n.29.

[96] Curt. 6.8.25, Lock (1977), p. 97. However, scholarship on Curtius has currently moved away from the aphoristic characterizations of Tarn and others, who viewed him as more of a novelist than a historian. The tendency is now to grant him more credibility, especially when it comes to his descriptions of foreign customs. See Baynham (1998), pp. 5-14. Cf. Fears (2001).

[97] Mooren (1983), p. 213, followed by Adams (1986), pp. 44-45.

[98] Mooren (1983), pp. 213-232. This argument echoes Aymand's earlier work on the existence of a body of traditional *nomoi*. This shows that the constitutionalist/absolutist dichotomy is too rigid to accommodate all the nuances of scholarly interpretations. Rather, the main argument, as L.G. Mitchell suggests, is really between constitutionalism versus non-constitutionalism. As such, the debate should concentrate not on the existence or not of a formal body of law, which in any case is beyond the capacity of the extant evidence to establish beyond reasonable doubt, but rather on the degree of autonomy of action that the ruler enjoyed within the context of the Argead monarchy.

theoretical mould presents us with an interesting, yet largely unsubstantiated scenario, whereby the main structure regulating the extent of the king's power is constitutional law. However, nothing as institutionalised as this arrangement can be supported either by the literary or the epigraphic record. On the other hand, the minimalist conceptualisation of the workings of the Makedonian kingship favoured by the absolutists results in a self-confessed abstractive model, whereby the king is presented as an absolute autocrat, whose even most serious digressions (e.g. the murder of Kleitos by Alexandros) can be explained away as part of the rules of the game.[99] Despite the obvious merits of a heavily evidence-oriented approach, the type of monarchy described in this model can only be taken to correspond to a formulaic representation of the actual organisation of the monarchy in Makedonia. Certainly, the king stood at the apex of the social and political hierarchy, but it was not only his personality or the exogenous circumstances prevailing in the international arena at any given reign that defined the extent of his power. The dichotomy between a monarchy where the source of all power is either the law or the figure of the king is merely overestimating the importance of each at the expense of the other, while at the same time failing to identify those social, political and economic structures that shaped the expectations of the Makedones (nobility and citizenry alike) vis-à-vis the power of the ruler. In other words, it fails to define the structural framework within which the ruler operated.

To that effect, both approaches offer limited and static explanations of the nature and sources of power in the Makedonian monarchy, as well as of the relationship between the king and the Makedones. This thesis will argue that the interrelations between the king and his household, his well-attested circle of companions and friends, the army, and the rest of his subjects are far more dynamic and relevant in this context than hitherto presumed. A better understanding of these social networks will reveal the foundations upon which the power of the ruler rested, as well as the variety of the constraints that had an impact on its extent. It will be illustrated that these go beyond any constitutional arrangements, personality traits or fortuitous circumstances in the political arena. Such circumstantial evidence is significant, but only to a degree.

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[99] "*..we are forced by the lack of evidence to describe in an impressionistic manner how things worked among the Macedonians*," Borza (1992), p. 236. For the absolute authority of the Makedonian king over everything, see Errington (1974), p. 37, (1978). For such an interpretation of the murder of Kleitos, see Carney (1981).

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

In regard to structure and methods, this thesis will not veer away from the traditional historical approach of an inductive enquiry, based on an examination of literary, numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence.[100] Further inferences will be drawn, where evidence allows, from comparisons with the other northern political units in Hellas, namely Epeiros, Thrake and Thessalia.[101] However, the examination of the structures and organisation of Makedonian royal power will require an additional set of more robust theoretical and analytical tools, presented in this section.

DEFINITION OF POWER

Before all else, it is imperative to define royal power. Power, as the cornerstone of any stratification system, modern or historical, is a central concept in the humanities as much as it is in the social sciences. In ancient history, it has become the focal point of an increasing number of studies and since the 1990s the literature has grown considerably. More specifically, scholarship has explored the relationship of monarchic power to politics and economics, religion, royal females, royal representation, propaganda and culture.[102] Yet, for all its centrality it is more often than not the case in modern historical writing about the ancient world that the notion of power goes undefined and unscrutinized.[103] There is a general tendency to *assume* that royal power can be predominantly manifested through the use or threat of

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[100] In the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, papyrological material will be used as well. As far as literary sources are concerned, it should be noted here that on account of the nature of the research question, the scarcity of the evidence, especially on the Makedonian side, and the space restrictions this thesis is heavily informed by the source criticism conducted by specialists, and unless noted otherwise, follows the current consensus.

[101] The work of Cabanes (1980), (1993), Archibald (2000), Carlier (2000) and Davies (2000) are instrumental. On the merits of the comparative approach see Samuel (1988). In reaction to the prevailing formalistic assumptions about a Makedonian monarchy of delineated power, he has conducted an influential study, whereby the Argead monarchy is compared to the tribal kingship of the Lombards, Visigoths and Merovingians in Late Antiquity.

[102] Politics: Nicolet (1990), economy: Manning (2003), religion: Marquaille (2003), Brisch (2008), royal females: Mirón (2000), Savalli-Lestrade (2003), Melville (2005), royal representation & propaganda: Stewart (1993), Hekster & Fowler (2005), culture: Erskine (1995).

[103] Consider Erskine's (1995) account of the interrelation between the pursuit of cultural objectives by the Ptolemaioi and the advancement of their power. Nowhere in the text is the reader made aware of what the author has in mind when he uses the term 'power'. Should one think that culture reinforces the 'power' to act upon will and whim? Or should one infer that it contributed to the Ptolemaic control over resources? Or both? Or something entirely different? Consider also Hekster & Fowler (2005), where the lack of a working definition for 'power' undermines their argument, see Noreña, 2006.

physical force, that it involves control, it breathes authority and legitimacy to the subjects and allows the basic leeway for a ruler to do as they please. It can be all or some of these elements at once. Taking for granted that the aforementioned commonsensical observations are valid, definitions are altogether omitted. Power, however, and by extent monarchic power, is not a static quantity and is infinitely more nuanced than sometimes assumed.[104] The advancements of social theory that bear on the qualification of the notion cannot be ignored. This thesis adopts the general definition used by Mann in *The Sources of Social Power*, whereby power is "*the ability to pursue and attain goals through mastery of one's environment*."[105] Distanced from the Nietzschean overtones of *der Wille zur Macht*, power is not treated as an end in itself.[106] Rather, the Ur-goals of power holders conform to the principal drives of human nature: the maximization of enjoyment through the rational choice of the appropriate means to achieve them. According to Mann, these characteristics of human nature provide the original sources of power and power in itself is sought out only insofar as it can facilitate the acquisition of these goals.[107] The choice of Mann's definition is based on the plurality and analytical quality of his overall approach towards the study of the concept of power (through the *IEMP* model), which will be examined in the following section.

Although he accepts Weber's classic definition that 'power' can best be understood as the chance of a man or men to realise their will against the resistance of others (which was articulated as a reaction to the Marxist equation of ownership and control of the means of production with political rule), Mann de-emphasizes the notion of conflict inherent in both these definitions.[108] Instead, he focuses attention on co-operation, which he scrutinises on a meta-level. Put simply, Mann's analysis of social power ventures to map the complex grid of intersecting human wills and needs each pursuing their goals in an attempt to identify the major sources of power, i.e.

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[104] As argues Parsons, discussed in Giddens (1984), pp. 256-262.

[105] Adapted from Parsons (1968) I, p. 236: Power is a "generalised mean" for attaining whatever goals one want to achieve. Mann (1986), p. 6.

[106] The term was coined by Nietzsche in *Also Sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen* (1883-1885).

[107] Mann (1986), pp. 4-6. Various thinkers have identified different motivations for the pursuit of power: for Schopenhauer it was the "will to live," for Freud the need for sexual gratification, for the Utilitarians it was the pursuit of happiness, for the Marxists the drive for material subsistence. Each of these "wills" is typically given primacy over other motivations.

[108] "*In general, we understand by 'power' the chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action*." Weber (1978), p. 926. The concept of power in Marx is never addressed explicitly. It is found conflated with his notion of the state, which, for him, is the embodiment of power. As such, power is only existent in class societies and is intimately linked to the conflicting interests of the different classes.

single out the most important relations, which are most effective in "*influencing the shape and nature of social structures in general*."[109] Ultimately, human motivation for power is irrelevant. What matters are the 'mechanics' through which co-operation in any given context is negotiated by the participating actors in order to achieve the *de facto* plurality of human goals.[110]

Significantly, following much Marxist and Weberian thinking, power is viewed as a constant sum game. In other words, power is always possessed by some at the expense of others. Although the organisational superiority enjoyed by those who occupy superordinate positions within any given system places them at an advantage as opposed to the rest, this does not preclude the possibility that those at the lower and lowest echelons of the institutional apparatus can form collectives and through co-operation enhance their joint power prospects at the expense of that of their superiors. Viewed this way power is no longer necessarily the prerogative of élite groups.

Finally, power is regarded as being a dispositional concept, referring to the "*recurrent tendencies of human beings to behave in certain ways*."[111] In other words, dispositional power alludes to the *possibility* of an action occurring rather than its actual occurrence. In the context of the possession of royal power, the ruler must still be considered powerful even when he is not physically observed exercising his power.

THE *IEMP* MODEL

To date, while the power of the Makedonian monarch, and by extension the phenomenon of the endurance of the Argead dynasty on the throne, have been treated in numerous studies, none have methodically distinguished between the sources of that power, especially in its relation to the organisation of the groups that surrounded the monarch and made up the Makedonian state (i.e. court, army, the Makedones).[112]

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[109] Mann (1986), pp. 5-6.
[110] See Bryant (2006), p. 74.
[111] As opposed to an episodic one, whereby power is only recognised when exercised, see the discussion by Wrong (1979), quote in p. 6.
[112] Hammond (1972-1988) argued that the power of the Makedonian monarch was the result of the "reverence" held by the common people for the royal family, II: 152. On the other hand, Borza sounds resigned when he concedes that the reason behind the success of the Argead dynasty lies beyond our understanding (1992), p. 237. Both place emphasis on the absence of competing groups for power, without, however, taking the matter further.

There is no need to reel off the debate regarding the place of social theory in historical writing and research.[113] Its importance cannot be seriously contested. Further, as any sceptic of the idea of evolutionism in human history and society is aware, social change cannot be explained by any single mechanism, such as upward progress.[114] It has already been made clear in the section on Agency vs. Structure above where this thesis stands on the debate regarding the drivers of social change. If history, therefore, is seen as the structuration of events in time and space through the continual interplay of agency and structure, then the historian cannot disengage themselves from the dual task of collecting the factual evidence of everyday life and giving them meaning through the understanding of the institutional and cultural forms that stretch frequently across vast expanses of time and space.[115]

The convergence of history and sociology is not only theoretical, but also methodological. As social science needs to incorporate the thorough examination of texts or material evidence, so does history cannot afford to ignore the study of abstract concepts inherent in social theory. Notwithstanding the absence of universal laws to govern social conduct, this thesis sides with those who argue that human behaviour was not less complex in the pre-modern world as it is in the modern.[116] Insofar as economic opportunity presented itself, prompting political co-operation and the ensuing social stratification within a confined geographical space, the same complexity, in terms of power and its organisation and distribution, applies to ancient monarchical environments. Following from the definition offered above, the commonplace notion that power is something that élites have at the expense of the masses is deceptive.[117]

An obvious methodological template for the study of power structures in Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt was provided by a specialised strand of

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[113] See Burke's (2005) seminal presentation of the connections between history and sociology and social theory. The 2005 edition of *History and Social Theory* is an expanded and updated version of his 1980 *Sociology and History* (London: Allen and Unwin). There is a very good discussion in Giddens (1984), pp. 355-372. See also Braudel (1973, 2002). For an overview of the debate regarding the role of theory in ancient history, see Morley (2004).

[114] As Giddens (1984) concedes: "*…there are no keys that will unlock the mysteries of human social development, reducing them to a unitary formula, or that will account for the major transitions between societal types in such a way either*," p. 243.

[115] This is Giddens' definition of history (1984), pp. 362-363.

[116] Claude Lévi-Strauss argued that the "savage mind" was structured along the same human characteristics as the "civilised." Mann (1986), pp. 50, 124-127. See also his discussions of Pharaonic Egypt (pp. 108-115), Minoan Krete (pp. 115- 117). For the primitivist/modernist debate in ancient economic history, see Appendix A.

[117] See the definition of power offered by Lasswell (1936): "*Those who get the most are the élite; the rest are mass*," p. 13.

scholarly research, which is called appropriately the Power Structure Research. The main objectives of this school are to highlight the unequal distribution of resources, control of which, they claimed, led to power, and the importance of social networks, formal and informal, in the concentration and preservation of power.[118] Adherents of this approach built on the work of radical social theorists Floyd Hunter and C. Wright Mills, in order to identify who is/are the main power holder(s) in a given system and explain in what ways they perpetuate the power they yield through the manipulation of the political institutions that structure economic life.[119]

Although promising, Power Structure Research presents the ancient historian with two significant problems. The first is of a conceptual nature, while the second is methodological. Both can be elucidated by a reading of the school's foremost representative, G. William Domhoff and his work *Who Rules America?*[120] In the first instance, Domhoff's approach in the controversy regarding power distribution in the United States is elitist, i.e. it concentrates on the role of power élites in decision-making. By networks, Power Structure researchers refer exclusively to lobbying and social interaction at the high-end of decision-making. In addition to failing to provide a clear-cut method of establishing which individuals or groups constitute the ruling élite in a given society (which renders its existence more hypothetical and less axiomatic than proponents of this model would have it), critics have signalled the one-dimensionality of what is essentially a heavily top-down approach.[121] In other words, the élite model ignores the various ways in which individuals and groups, which are perceived to be excluded from the ruling élite can partake in the distribution of power, either through their role in enabling (and disenabling) power concentration, or through their compliance, which may be the result of cultural conditioning. The role of such groups is essential in evaluating the extent of any ruling élite's power. The approach of this thesis is more in tune with Elias' figurational sociology, which stressed the importance of networks (figurations as he called them) in shaping and binding human behaviour, even at the highest level of decision-making. Elias, who studied the power structures of the monarchic state (as observed through the figurations that developed in the royal courts) in its most absolutist manifestation in

[118] For an overview and the relevant criticism, see Peoples (2009).
[119] Hunter authored the *Community Power Structure* (1953) and Mills the seminal *The Power Elite* (1956).
[120] The book has undergone six editions since its first publication in 1967. The latest was published in 2010.
[121] For a critique of Mills, see Dahl (1958).

early modern Europe under Louis XIV, demonstrated that ultimately there can be no such thing as an absolute monarch.[122]

In regard to the second problem, the main methodological tool of this school was developed in response to criticism about the general 'untestability' of the élite model.[123] Proponents have adopted network analysis as the preferred method of identifying the major "nodes" of decision-making activity and gathering all the data on all the ties and relevant exchange that takes place across these nodes. These are then mapped onto matrices in order to reveal the connections between the various networks. In the case of ancient history such a detailed method is problematic due to the limitations of the evidence.[124]

Both the lack of multi-dimensionality and the incompatible methodological framework provided by Power Structure Research renders this line of enquiry ill-suited for the purposes of this thesis. Elias' study of the social figurations in court societies and Giddens' dual explanation of social change as effected by knowledgeable agents bound by structures beyond their choosing are extremely helpful in providing the conceptual springboard for the study of historic royal power structures and their migration through time and space. However, in terms of identifying and analysing these structures and networks that develop between the various power holders in Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt this thesis will make use of Michael Mann's *IEMP* model. In the author's view, Mann's historical sociology, and specifically his *IEMP* model, provides a theoretically and methodologically sound, and empirically rich method to disentangle the mass of power structures and networks present in a monarchical environment.

Mann's work represents the most recent synthesis of much general thinking in historical sociology, beginning with Marx, Durkheim, Weber and culminating in Giddens, with whose structuration theory there is significant conceptual compatibility. Like Giddens, Mann identifies four types of power institutions. Where Giddens recognises symbolic orders/modes of discourse, economic institutions, law/modes of sanction/repression, and political institutions as separate forms of power, Mann speaks of ideological, economic, military and political sources of social power

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[122] Elias (2000, 2006).
[123] See Dahl's "Some Bad Tests" (1958), pp. 464-466. He argued that ultimately the hypothesis of a particular ruling élite can only be tested when there is observable conflict of interest between various groups of decision-makers and a particular group regularly prevails, (1958), p. 466.
[124] Peoples (2009).

respectively.[125] What made him better suited for this study is the methodological clarity with which he presents his model of power organisation and which will be discussed further below.[126] What is more, his predominantly empirical approach in examining the complexities of power distribution, which includes ancient empires (territorial and empires of domination), provides a viable template for the study of the kingdoms under scrutiny in this thesis.[127] Unlike Elias, Mann does not set out to reveal universal laws.[128] Far from being simply descriptive, his pluralistic approach, which centres on the identification of the most powerful organisational means that are created by the masses of individuals pursuing their goals, is essentially concerned with the process of social change.[129] As such, his work has been praised for balancing the right amount of theory with the right amount of empirical evidence and for contributing significantly to the understanding of historical change.[130]

In his study, which is fundamentally a history of power relations in human societies and the changes in its uses, Mann holds that "[s]*ocieties are constituted of multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power*."[131] As already mentioned, he identifies four such networks (Ideological, Economic, Military and Political), which he called the four sources of social power. According to his theoretical model, the primacy of these four categories is derived not from their role as ends in themselves (i.e. humans are not specifically desirous of ideological, economic, military or political goals) but from the fact that each possesses the fundamental organisational means necessary to attain any variety of human goals, irrespective of what these are.[132] In this line of reasoning, the acquisition and preservation of power can be considered the outcome of the effective manipulation of its sources; in our case, by the Argead kings of Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt, as the heads of state. However, power was

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[125] Giddens (1981), Mann (1986), p. 11, n. 1. Marxists and neo-Weberians recognize three types of power: class (i.e. economic power), status (i.e. political power) and party (i.e. ideological power). Mann believes that the potential for coercion (i.e. military power) is a separate type of power and should not be integrated with political.

[126] For a graphic representation of the causal *IEMP* model of organised power see figure 2.

[127] Mann (1986), esp. chs. 5 and 8.

[128] In all of his voluminous work Elias was guided by the conviction that it is possible to "*clarify the characteristics that all possible human societies have in common*," Elias (2000), p. 454.

[129] Mann (1986), pp. 5, 30.

[130] See Bryant (2006), Jacoby (2004).

[131] Mann (1986), pp. 1-2. Mann holds that he provides a *theory*, as well as a history, of power relations. However, critics have argued that his theoretical formulations do not make up for a recognizable social theory. What he has provided instead is a method (referring to the *IEMP* model of representing ideal-typical constellations of ideological, economic, military and political power relations). See further Hall & Schroeder (2006).

[132] Mann (1986), p. 2.

not limited to them, at the expense of everybody else. Within the ideological, economic, military and political networks that formed around them various other groups or individuals within the state (members of the dynasty, members of the court and members of the citizenry) participated, which had the possibility to manipulate rules and resources in order to achieve their own goals. This fact alone made them power holders in their own right.

One of the central analytical problems with this model is the degree of overlap between these different sources. As one reviewer noted, they could all be considered to a certain extent 'political.'[133] Such criticism, however, monumentally fails to grasp the analytical purpose served by Mann's separation of the sources of power. By dispensing with the conventional abstract language used by historians and sociologists alike to describe power and power relations in human societies, the contribution of Mann's approach deserves merit precisely because he concentrates discussion on more concrete levels of analysis. Power is not treated as an abstraction but is studied through the real connections that are formed between people and which are empirically observable. For instance religion, which is Mann's most typical manifestation of ideological power, is not studied as the sum of its abstract beliefs at any given point in history, but rather as the sum of the everyday structures formed by the people who participate in the workings of religion (e.g. priests, monks, devotees etc.).[134] More specifically, the model seeks to examine power networks in a given historical setting through the study of sociospatial and organisational parameters, namely the capacity to organise and control people, resources and territory.[135] The distinction between the four sources of power draws attention to the different relationships that matter in the capacity of a ruler for organisation. It brings to the foreground the ways and extent in which power-holders monopolised ideological norms and interacted with social networks in order to extract surplus, secure territory and resources, and maintain political control and cohesion over the subjects and territories under their control. In the case of the Argead Makedonian monarchy/state, such an approach can provide a fresh perspective in a research area where more than

[133] Moore (1988), p. 170. Mann's model has been critiqued by both historians and social theorists. The former have objected to his Eurocentrism, (the idea that civilisation moves steadily westward), see Blaut (2000, pp. 113-127). The latter have mainly criticised his anti-evolutionism, see Lenski (1987), Tilly (1987), Gellner (1988). The interests of this thesis lie with Mann's approach towards the study of social networks, rather than with his grand vision of historical development.
[134] See Collins (2006), pp. 20-23, Mann (2006), pp. 343-350.
[135] Mann (1986), pp. 2-3.

three generations of scholars' interpretations have been confounded by the intractability of the source problem.

A second consideration that arises concerns the level of methodological integration of the *IEMP* model in this thesis. Balancing the primary role played by the evidence in this study with the organisational clarity this model will lend, a tweaked version of it will be adopted here. Based on the available evidence and the already established need for an analysis of the structures and social networks of kingship, an examination of the power structures of the Argead Makedonian monarchy will need to incorporate Mann's four distinct layers of power under the following headings: dynastic, courtly, military and economic.[136] To begin with, the dynastic layer incorporates at the same time elements of an ideological and political nature. On the one hand, the dynasty of the king, or rather the king's dynastic connections, served as the main legitimating (hence ideological) vehicle that galvanised the support of his court (his high-end political associates) and his subjects. On the other hand, his household (i.e. the rest of the members of the dynastic house) were involved in the decision-making process on a political level, either enabling or constraining the extent of his power. The court, involving the main decision-making individuals and groups on a state-level, corresponds to the political component of Mann's model. The networks and structures developed around the military and economic sources of power are self-explanatory, denoting the ever-important capacity of a ruler to mobilise a military force in order to ensure compliance and the capacity to organise efficiently the economic resources of the state. It has to be noted that these layers are not ordered according to importance. On the contrary, it is the author's contention that there is no issue of primacy between them. Each, or a combination of several, was more prevalent than the rest at different periods and reigns. Their presentation in this thesis is based simply on the level of immediacy of the ruler to the power networks that are inherent in each layer, as well as their reach. On the one end, the political organisation of the dynasty involved a finite combination of networks unfolding in the immediate environment of the ruler, while at the other end, the networks that sustained the economic power of the king fanned out across the entire kingdom.

[136] For a schematic representation, see figure 1.

THE SOURCES OF ROYAL POWER

What follows is an introduction to the power structures that will form the backbone of discussion in the main body of this thesis. The most prominent elements of each are italicised in each case.

DYNASTIC STRUCTURES

Depending on whether one views the 'dynasty' as an abstract idea or as a concrete mesh of intersecting individuals that belong to a particular clan and are tied through bonds of kinship, dynastic power can be both ideological and political. In each case, the organisational structure and reach of dynastic power differ. In view of Mann's model, it could be studied under two separate headings: the abstract notion of the dynasty as an ideological movement on the one hand, and on the other the political role of the members of the Argead or Ptolemaic clan could merge with the study of the political structures of the monarchy. However, given the centrality of the 'dynasty' (as a concept *and* as an agglomeration of people) in the Makedonian state, whether Argead or Ptolemaic, dynastic power and its dual nature (both ideological and political) will form the first layer of power to be examined in this thesis.

In Mann's terminology, dynastic power exhibits elements of both an extensive and an intensive organisation. The extensive organisation of dynastic power involves the manipulation of *dynastic frames of reference as instruments of legitimation* with the purpose of strengthening and intensifying the cohesion and confidence of the ruler's subject base.[137] Its use of diffused power techniques, such as *coinage* and *myth*, which transcend sociospatial boundaries render it akin to ideological power.[138]

The intensive organisation of dynastic power concerns the structures that framed the dynastic organisation of the monarchy and the social networks that were formed between the king and the rest of the Argead royal house, i.e. consorts and progeny. Since in this context power derives from the centralised regulation of social relations, following Mann's model, dynastic power can be equated to political power.[139]

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[137] Mann (1986) calls this immanent morale, p. 24.
[138] Mann (1986), pp. 22-23.
[139] Mann (1986), pp. 26-27.

Beginning with the assumption of royal office one needs to address first and foremost the issue of *succession* and its mechanisms. It appears that in Argead Makedonia succession was not a clearly demarcated process. With no law of primogeniture being uniformly applied, any royal offspring or close relative had the potential to contend for the throne through the necessary backing of other influential individuals or groups, both domestic and foreign. The practice of *royal polygamy*, which produced multiple offspring from different wives/queens, further complicated the situation, allowing *royal females* to participate in the struggle for dynastic supremacy. As Ogden has successfully shown, wives of the same king and their sons often formed rival groups, which contended against one another and against the king himself for the crown.[140]

COURT STRUCTURES

The second layer involves the organisation of the court and the power networks that developed between the king and his extended circle of friends, assistants, allies; i.e. those individuals that frequented his court and with whom he socialised on a personal and political level. As the centre of political decision-making in a monarchical environment, the organisation of a ruler's court was a source of political power. As Mann argues, political power is necessarily located at the centre and is exercised outwards.[141] In this light, the effective organisation of power relations at the court level bears an impact on the political power of the ruler on both an intensive and an extensive level: first, in his capacity to mobilize the commitment and loyalty of his assistants, and second, to delegate his decisions over the peoples and territories under his control.[142]

The court is both a *physical* and a *social* structure. The layout of the physical court, as revealed through the archaeological remains of the royal palaces, and especially the arrangement of space in and around what are thought to be the official/public quarters, can provide information on the type of social activities that

[140] Ogden (1999).
[141] Mann (1986), p. 27.
[142] According to Mann's model, the organisation of power relations at the court level is a form of political organisation, regulating political relations at the centre and exercised outward. See Mann (1986), pp. 26-27 and above n. 46.

took place there.[143] Literary and archaeological evidence suggests that *banqueting* was the cornerstone of the social interaction between the king and his courtiers. By extent, the makeup of the social court can broadly be deduced from the attendance to these banquets. The literary sources often speak of members of the extended Argead family, a restricted circle of close companions (*σωματοφύλακες*), a broader one of friends (*ἑταῖροι* or *φίλοι*) and, on occasion, other officials, with military or administrative responsibilities. The *hierarchic organisation* of those individuals depended on their personal standing with the ruler and as such was rather fluid. As revealed by the titles of the courtiers there was overall very little of the professional specialisation in function in the Argead court, which tends to result in rigid hierarchical structures.

The *function of the social court* entailed acting as an advisory body to the ruler, which occasionally met in *Assembly* or *synedrion*, and a quarry of military, administrative and diplomatic personnel necessary for the workings of the monarchy. Conclusive evidence for the binding authority of the decisions reached by the participants in the Assembly or synedrion, as we have seen in the first part of this introduction, is lacking. However, it seems improbable that the king could afford to disregard the opinions voiced by the court as a whole, by court factions, or even by individuals, at least on a regular basis. This is an outcome of the *network of power interdependencies* that evolved between the Makedonian ruler and his courtiers.[144] The evidence suggests that the infrastructural apparatus in Argead Makedonia was weak and logistics would not allow political decisions to be implemented on a far-reaching scale. In other words, the political power of the Argead ruler was not organised around a functioning bureaucracy. Rather, the real infrastructure of the political power of the king *was* the courtiers, charged with communicating political decisions to the farthest corners of the kingdom and beyond on diplomatic missions. In return for good services rendered the king would reward the courtiers with gifts (*δωρεαί*) of money, land or booty. Such a working relationship was geared towards the satisfaction of self-interest on both sides and can account further for the loyalty of the courtiers towards the king, (another significant reason being the aforementioned loyalty to the ideological power commanded by the 'dynasty').

[143] Cf. the multiple banquet halls of the palace at Pella, Chrysostomou (1997), p. 125.
[144] On the subject of interdependencies this thesis makes use of Elias (2006).

MILITARY STRUCTURES

The third layer involves the structures that supported the military power of the ruler and the networks that stemmed from it. Owing to the success of Philippos' re-organisation of the Makedonian army and Alexandros' Asian campaign, the military has long been celebrated as the most important source of Makedonian power. And deservedly so, since the Makedonian phalanx marched through the most inhospitable terrains of the known world and conquered the notorious Persian Empire undefeated.[145] Similar to the organisation of dynastic and court power, the organisation of military power can be both intensive and extensive.[146] The former refers to the ability of the ruler to "command a high level of mobilization or commitment" from those who partake in the hierarchy of military power (i.e. military officials, army, citizens of the state), while the latter concerns the organisation of defence and offence over broader geographical and social spaces (i.e. territories and populations that lie outside the strict administrative control of the state, but within the military reach of a campaigning army).[147]

The extensive organisation of military power relies heavily on logistical issues of human and material resources, technology and the nature and speed of communications.[148] Notwithstanding their importance in increasing the effectiveness of a military force, these elements can be considered more as the tools through which military power was implemented, rather than the structures upon which it depended. Additionally, it has been observed that extensive military organisation cannot yield but minimal control in territories that have not been politically or economically integrated to the state.[149] The loyalty (often to the death) of agents within the sphere of sustained royal military power, cemented by the ideological acceptance of a king's right to rule, dissipates to a cursory compliance as one moves farther away from the centre of power, where the effects of military power are of a more transient nature (i.e.

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[145] See Engels' (1978) logistical analysis of Alexandros' campaigning army. He argues that thanks to Philippos' reforms Alexandros had at his disposal "*the fastest, lightest, and most mobile force in existence, capable of making lightning strikes before anyone had time to fear the event*," p. 119.

[146] According to Mann (1986).

[147] Mann (1986), p. 7, pp. 25-26.

[148] Mann (1986), pp. 9-10. Military logistics is defined as "*the science of planning and carrying out the movement and maintenance of forces*," *NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions*, s.v. *logistics*. (AAP-6-2009, http://www.nato.int/docu/stanag/aap006/aap-6-2009.pdf, last accessed 14 February 2010).

[149] Mann (1986), p. 26. This was also observed by Lattimore (1962), who studied the frontier relations between China and Mongol tribes. He distinguished between an inner and an outer radius of military reach. In the outer, which included conquered but not consolidated territories, the populations could be terrorised into compliance, but once the military forces withdrew, life would resume its pre-conquest normality.

they desist when the conquering army moves onwards). In line with Genghis Khan's alleged dictum that it is easy to conquer the world on horseback, but an empire cannot be ruled unless the conqueror dismounts, the study of military power in the framework of this thesis will focus on those structures that supported the intensive organisation of military power.[150]

The military power of the king was based on the virtual *monopoly of physical force*, which, in line with the tenets of *military kingship*, was concentrated in his hands. An understanding of the *ideological cohesion* inspired by the legitimacy of the dynasty and state to enjoy the monopoly of violence, which extended to the common soldier, is relevant for an appreciation of the extent and organisation of military power. Vital to this cohesion was the fact that the king himself was the *head of the army*. He was in charge of organising the military units and devising the strategic plans for the campaigns. Most importantly, though, he was expected to lead the charge in battle and to co-ordinate the army in the field. This direct involvement was to an extent dependent on the personal charisma of the ruler. At the same time, however, it created a set of power relations with the common soldiers, which, coupled with his military success record, fuelled the loyalty of the army towards what was considered a traditionally sanctioned royal authority.[151]

The intensive military organisation of the kingdom was reinforced by the nature of the Makedonian society itself with its emphasis on militarism.[152] *Military training* was prominent in the *education* of the young. Literary anecdotes and archaeological evidence point to the importance of *hunting* as an activity suitable for adolescents and young adults alike in order to familiarise them with military discipline. On some occasions, successful hunting of large game indicated the rite of passage from adolescence to manhood. Both the latter structures impressed upon the younger generations the virtues of military life, the mode of which seems to have been widespread in Makedonian society.[153] Further support for the permeation of military organisation in society, even in times of peace, is the existence of a *system of material*

[150] Quoted in Meagher (2007), p. 408.
[151] le Bohec-Bouhet (1999), p. 79.
[152] In the context of this thesis militarism is used absolved of its modern derogatory connotations. Rather, given the preponderance of military ideology in the governance of the Makedonian state it is taken to encompass those military attitudes or ideals, which supported the belief or policy that a state should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively in order to defend or promote its interests, *OED* s.v. *militarism*.
[153] The most prominent grave offerings in male burials are instruments for drinking, hunting and warfare, suggesting that these were the most significant pastimes of the average Makedonian, (Hellenic Ministry of Culture Press Office, 10 September 2008).

rewards for good services that was in place for both soldiers and high officials. It had the form of gifts of land. The much-debated consultative role of an *army assembly* during times of crisis testifies to the *power relations that developed between the king and the high-ranked military officials*, who were also prominent members of his court.

Economic Structures

The fourth layer involves the economic power of the king and the structures that sustained it. The evidence for the economic organisation of Argead Makedonia has long been considered too scanty to support any in-depth discussion. However, a careful collection of the available material, including the most recent advances in the field of Makedonian epigraphy, reveals that the Argead economy was far more sophisticated than previously recognised. In order to understand and analyse the structures of an economy this thesis makes use of Douglass North's Neo-Institutional Economics framework, which places emphasis on the examination of economic institutions, i.e. the rules of the game, in order to explain continuity and change.[154] The discussion will concentrate on the *property rights régime* and the variety of *economic actors* that were engaged in it, (i.e. the *ruler*, *private entrepreneurs*, the *Makedones* and *temples*). By disentangling who had access to the natural and monetary resources of the state (i.e. land, timber, minerals, booty, taxation) and to what degree, one can gauge the evolution of power figurations through time and space and assess the level of interdependence between the central authority and the peripheral networks of economic power.

[154] North (1981).

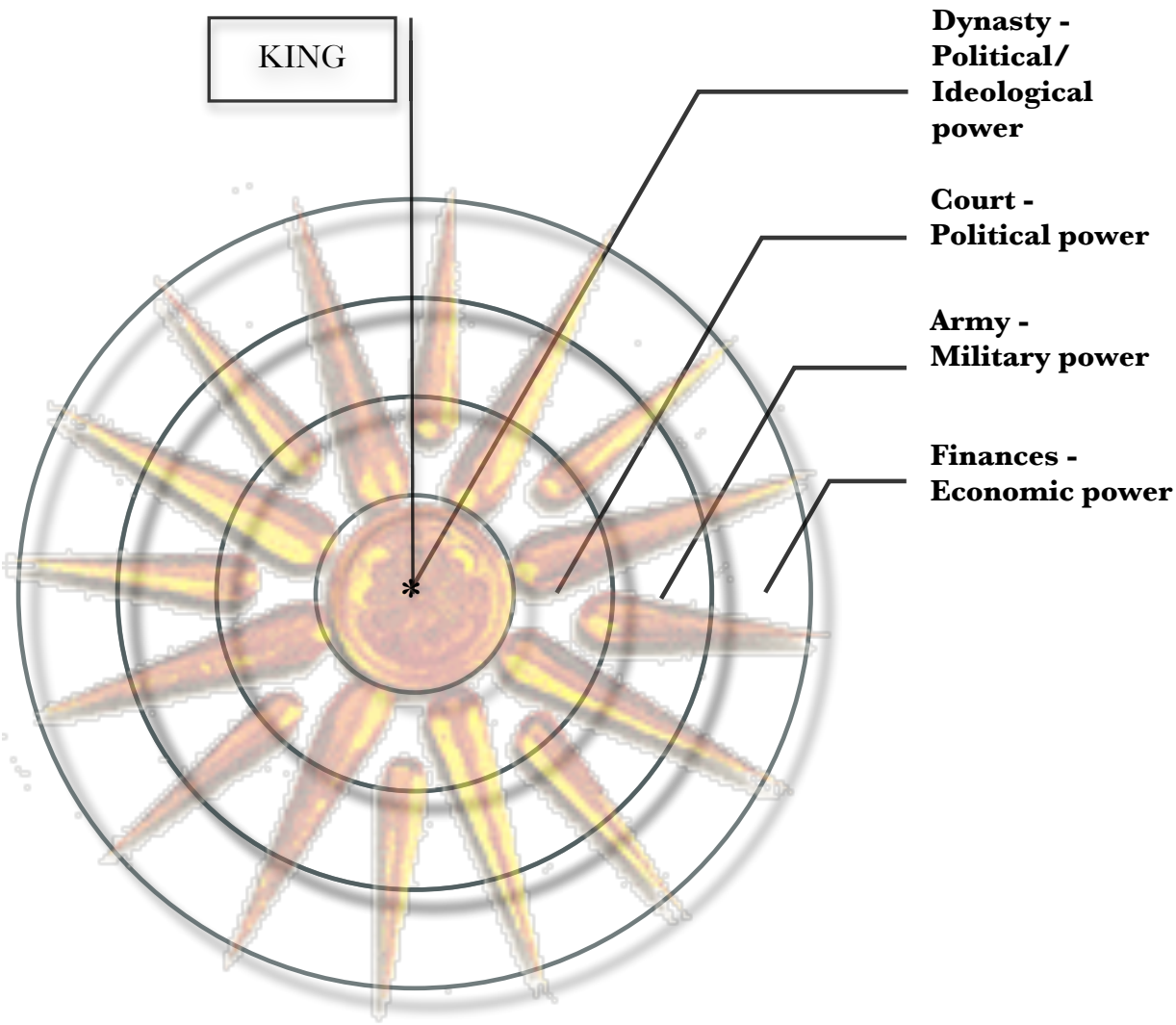

Fig. 1: Schematic representation of the four sources of royal power. In this schema, which is a variation based on Mann's *IEMP* model (1986), the sources of royal power are shown to radiate outwards from the concentrated core of the dynasty, the royal court and the army, ultimately to cover the territorial totality of the kingdom under the diffused workings of the economy. The schema is organised in concentric circles in order to reflect the basic concept of spatial immediacy with the ruler and accentuate the centrality of the monarchic authority as the *fons et origo* of these powers. No form of hierarchical arrangement is implied. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that the structures and networks that make up the organisation of each of these layers of power are overlapping and intersecting and the interaction between them and the ruler is reciprocal.

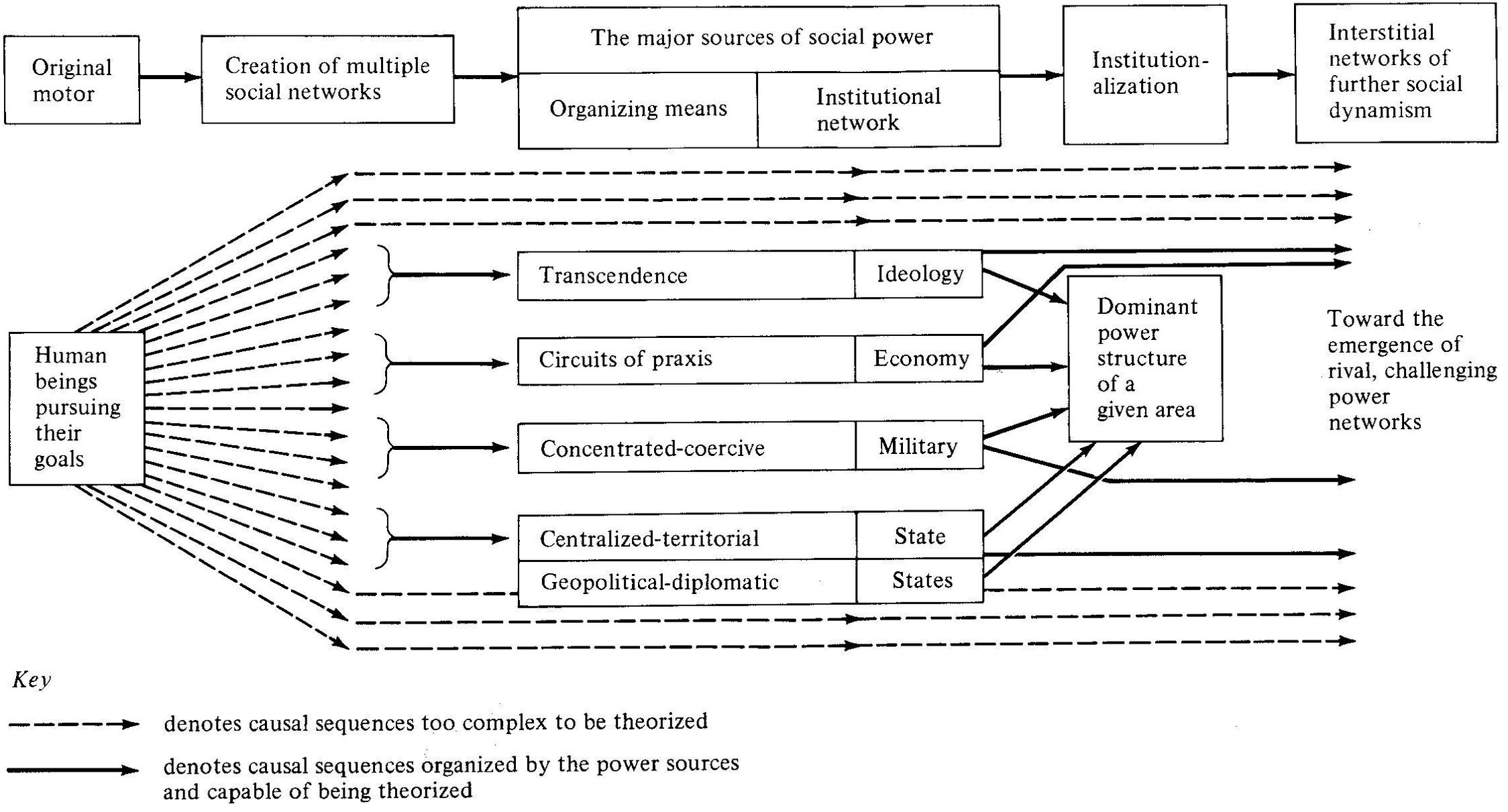

Figure 2. *Causal IEMP model of organized power*

"An eagle descending from the clouds, accompanied by lightning,
is a favourable omen for victory in war
for the Argead kings.."

Poseidippos, Oionoskopika *Pap. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309 AB 31 (V 20-22)[155]

CHAPTER ONE: DYNASTIC POWER

It has long been recognised that the monarchy was the central institution in Makedonia and the dynasty was at the centre of that monarchy.[156] Of all the royal houses that emerged after the death of Alexandros III, the Ptolemaic dynasty proved the most enduring. In terms of longevity, it was the most successful. Although for three centuries the unchallenged, uninterrupted rule of one Ptolemaios after another stands as a testament to the institutionalisation of the Ptolemaic line as the legitimate source of power, the enduring presence of Ptolemaic Egypt as a political unit in the power map of the Hellenistic World was the result of factors that went beyond its dynastic cohesion.[157] As a matter of fact, it was the lack of cohesion, inter alia, that destabilised the broader system of the Hellenistic world and allowed the Romans to intervene as early as the close of the third century BCE.[158] The strife for power and succession, which is endemic in any monarchic state and which most frequently manifests itself among competing groups belonging to different branches of the dynastic family tree, was exacerbated by the self-serving practices of the Romans, who played potential candidates for succession off against their rivals.[159] The kingdom was eventually weakened to such an extent that it was finally incorporated into the provinces of the Roman Empire.[160]

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[155] Based on a translation by Stephens IN Acosta-Hughes et al. (2006).
[156] "*The monarchy is the foundation of all else in any Hellenistic kingdom*," Bagnall IN: Bingen (2007), p. 4.
[157] Paradoxically, the enormous wealth of Egypt kept it from being annexed sooner that it was. See Cic. *De Rege Alexandrino*, esp. FF 1-6. For a recent commentary on the fragments see Crawford (1994), pp. 44-57.
[158] For the decline in Ptolemaic international status and the shift in the balance of power that followed the premature death of Ptolemaios IV, see Eckstein (2006), pp. 104-116.
[159] E.g. the Roman Senate supported in 163 BCE the partition of Ptolemaic rule between Ptolemaios VI Philometor and his younger brother Ptolemaios VIII Physkon, Polyb. 31.10.
[160] Ptolemaic Egypt was annexed by Octavianus in 30 BCE. Thirty years earlier (63 BCE) the Seleukid kingdom had succumbed to the forces of Pompeius and Lucullus. For a detailed history of the dynastic state of affairs in the Hellenistic Kingdoms, see Ogden (1999) and Whitehorne (1994).

In spite of the instability that similarly characterised succession in the régime of Argead Makedonia, hereditary dynastic monarchy still constituted the most recognizable paradigm of government for the generals who partitioned the Empire after the death of Alexandros.[161] Every single one from this new generation of state-builders ventured to establish their own dynastic monarchy with varying degrees of success.[162] The purpose of this chapter is to examine the dual capacity of the 'dynasty' to act both as a source of ideological and of political power for the Argead and early Ptolemaic rulers.[163] Accordingly, the first part will be devoted to the function of the 'dynasty' as an ideology. More specifically, the relevant section will concentrate on the ways in which the 'dynasty' could, by its very nature, or through conscious manipulation, invoke notions of legitimate authority to the subject populations. It will be argued that the 'dynasty' acted as the single most important ideological element, overrunning religion, which unified the Makedonian states, Argead and Ptolemaic. The second part, which will examine the role of the dynasty as a source of political power, will address the structures that framed the dynastic organisation of the monarchy and the social networks that were formed between the king and the rest of the Argead royal house, i.e. consorts, progeny and extended family members. The two most defining structures of Argead intensive dynastic organisation were the patterns of succession and the practice of royal polygamy. In light of the heightened importance of royal females in the Ptolemaic dynasty the final section of this chapter will focus on a comparison between the political role exercised by female members of the Argead royal household and their Ptolemaic counterparts. Overall, it will be argued that the 'dynasty,' both as an idea and as a configuration of individuals, was a significant contributing factor to the imperial success of the Makedonian kingdoms, both Argead and Ptolemaic, not because it had become an institutionalized aspect of Makedonian rule, but because the extensive and intensive power networks it generated continued to serve the goals of the decision-makers.

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[161] One should note the proposal of Ptolemaios I at the conference of Babylon, namely that the empire could, instead of a king, be governed by a council of generals that would decide by majority voting (Curt. 10.6.13-15, Just. 13.2.12). As Mooren (1983) argues this incident could suggest that kingship might not have been "*that essential to the Macedonian state*," pp. 233-240. In practice, however, such alternatives were only considered in times of real crisis. This recommendation, essentially to bypass the traditional constitution of Makedonia, vanished into thin air when Ptolemaios was assigned his own satrapy. He exhibited no interest in governing Egypt according to majority vote. For royal succession in Argead Makedonia, see Hatzopoulos (1986), *contra* Greenwalt (1989).

[162] Consider the short-lived kingdom of Lysimachos in Thrake, Lund (1992).

[163] Refer to the introduction, pp. 31-32.

THE DYNASTY AS IDEOLOGY: THE USE OF DYNASTIC FRAMES OF REFERENCE

According to Mann, ideological power stems from three interrelated sociological arguments.[164] First of all, individuals cannot interpret and act upon the social world solely relying on their senses. Categories of meaning are required to decode sensory perceptions. Secondly, compliance and smooth co-operation between individuals and groups are sustained through normative behaviour, i.e. behaviour based on shared understandings of how people should act in relation to one another. Finally, there is the existence of ritual practices, which give outward expression to traditional, non-rational beliefs. Rites and rituals involve actions whose significance and meaning is usually much wider and deeper than the deed itself. According to Bourdieu, they take place "*only because* […] *they find their* raison d'être *in the conditions of existence and the dispositions of agents who cannot afford the luxury of logical speculation, mystical effusions or metaphysical* Angst."[165] It follows that those who monopolise a claim to meaning, norms and ritual practices yield ideological power. As ideological movements tend to increase the mutual trust, collective morale, cohesion and co-operation prospects of a group, the collective power of its leaders is enhanced. In terms of organisation, ideological power generally depends on what Mann calls "diffused" power techniques, such as coinage, whose distribution transcends by far the logistical reach of any other authoritative institution of the state.[166]

Through the ages, religion has proven the most obvious ideological source of power. However, this does not mean that its role was prevalent in all societies. Unlike Pharaonic Egypt, Classical Hellas, including the Argead Kingdom of Makedonia, was made up of more secular political units, meaning that religion was not the major permeating source of power over the people. It is a fact that the pantheon of gods was shared across the Makedonian kingdom and so were to a great extent the rituals associated with religious practice.[167] The evidence we possess, however, implies that religious and political authority did not depend on one another in the same manner that they overlapped in Dynastic Egypt. The Makedonian king was the head of the religious order, but religion itself was not what "caged" (in Mann's words) the population into compliance. The closest thing to a transcendent unifying ideology that

[164] For an overview, see Mann (1986), pp. 22-23.
[165] Bourdieu (1990), p. 96.
[166] Mann (1986), p. 23.
[167] See Christensen and Murray (2010).

the Makedones shared was the ideology of the monarchy. Its organisation, through the use of diffused power techniques, such as coinage and the construction of dynastic genealogies, was geared towards providing legitimation for the established political authority in the Makedonian state and its representatives, the Argead dynasty. It is of interest to observe in the following discussion that the importance of the Argead dynasty (the Ur-dynasty of the Makedonian state) as a legitimating factor continued to be used as an ideological source of power in the early Ptolemaic Kingdom.

Legitimacy can generally be described as a formula by which individuals accept a power and view their obedience as a just commitment.[168] Rather than being an abstract quality that a state either possesses or not, legitimacy, or rather the process of legitimation, is an observable activity in which empowered groups make claims regarding their right to rule.[169] The strategies employed in early Ptolemaic Egypt for legitimating rule and securing the support of subjects and peers were varied, but modern scholars tend to view some as more influential than others. On the one hand, Gruen believes that legitimacy lay with the personal achievements of the individual kings.[170] Austin, on the other hand, argues that the consolidation of kingship and its legitimacy in the eyes of its subjects depended on military success and the associated economic rewards. It was the parading of booty and the promise of more that attracted soldiers to the sides of the Hellenistic monarchs.[171] Bosworth voices another view: legitimacy and support were essentially maintained by the constant practice of *euergesiai*. Failure to reward the loyalty of subjects would ultimately have a detrimental effect on the ruler's popularity.[172] Notwithstanding the importance of immediate benefits in a ruler-ruled relationship and the favourable or unfavourable reputation individual rulers could accrue as a result of their personal charisma, military success or benefactions, legitimation is also the outcome of more deeply-seated processes that relate to what the audience (domestic and inter-state) perceive as constituting the right of a king to rule. Adherence to traditional norms as a legitimating claim is in line with Weber's theory of the bases of legitimate authority, whereby the person occupying a traditionally sanctioned position commands the obedience of subjects who believe in

[168] *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences* 2001, s.v. *Legitimacy*, *Sociology of*. See also Mann (1986), p. 7 and Weber M. (1978), pp. 212-301.
[169] Weber M. (1978), Barker (2001), pp. 1-29.
[170] Gruen (1958).
[171] Austin (1986) esp. 457-461, Carney (1995), p. 375.
[172] Bosworth (2002), pp. 246-278.

the validity of age-old rules.[173] In the Hellenistic context, students of the literature and art of the period have recognised a conscious effort from the part of the rulers to manipulate those media in order to project a self-constructed persona that would help cement the acceptance of their subjects.[174] This rhetoric aimed not only at legitimating the current king but extended the honours to his family, successors and ancestors.[175] The representation of a strong dynasty, rooted in both Egyptian and Hellenic-Makedonian tradition, was a recurring theme in royal propaganda. As suggested by their titulature and the Pharaonic visual vocabulary in their portraits, the Ptolemaioi aspired to be accepted by their Egyptian subjects as the legitimate successors of the Pharaohs.[176] For their Hellenic-Makedonian subjects and the rival Hellenistic kingdoms, links with the Hellenic and Argead past appear to have mattered in claims for legitimation. The following sections aim to explore the use and importance of Argead references in early Ptolemaic ideological claims for dynastic legitimation, especially in relation to the construction of dynastic genealogies. This involves the making of dynastic claims through the exploitation of widely recognisable symbols in myth and coinage and the relentless advancement of dynastic links to illustrious representatives of the Argead dynasty, or rather simply to Philippos II and, most importantly, Alexandros III himself.

Constructing Argead Genealogies

Kingship in Makedonia was inextricably linked to the Argead dynasty.[177] Even if the transition between reigns was rarely smooth the fact that every last one of the Makedonian kings was an Argead confirms that Argead dynastic connections were an indispensable source of ideological power for aspiring rulers. It appears that the belief in the supremacy of the Argead royal house over and above the rest of the Upper Makedonian royal houses can be traced back to the earliest history of the Makedonian

[173] Weber distinguished between three ideal types of legitimate authority: legal -which, as the outcome of a legally established impersonal order, cannot find its parallel in the Classical and Hellenistic world- traditional and charismatic, Weber M. (1978), pp. 212-301.
[174] Stewart (1993), Stephens (2003), Kosmetatou (2004), pp. 226-227 with references on earlier work.
[175] Consider the Memphis Decree (*OGIS* 96 ll. 35-38 of the Greek, Budge 1989) where the legitimacy accrued by the various benefactions is extended to the king's children/successors, but also backwards to his ancestors.
[176] For Pharaonic prototypes in Ptolemaic royal iconography and titulary see Stanwick (2002), Hölbl (2000), pp. 79-81.
[177] See further below in this chapter the section on the organisation of dynastic succession.

state.[178] The widely disseminated story, also reiterated by Herodotos, that the royal house of the lowland Makedones originated from the king of Argos Temenos, who was a direct descendant of Herakles, thus vesting them with divine ancestry, might hold some evidence in explaining that supremacy.[179]

Interestingly, the role of the Argead dynasty as a legitimating ideology for rule was retained in the period that witnessed the meteoric rise of the shining new Successor dynasties. Even if, as Diodoros mentions, a collective sigh of relief escaped the Successors when Kassandros eliminated the last of the Argeadai, the now extinct Makedonian dynasty still mattered as a legitimating vehicle.[180] This section will examine the creation of dynastic links with the Argead dynasty as a whole by looking at the genealogical traditions put forward in the early Ptolemaic period.

Accepting the premises that ideological power can stem from the control of ideological resources and that the rulers in a monarchic environment have the capacity to monopolize the choice of myths and symbols that they associate with themselves, then it can be deduced that the royal genealogies that circulated in early Ptolemaic Egypt, especially within court literary circles, served the precise aim of advertising the legitimating agenda of the rulers to their subjects.[181]

Walbank has argued that the Ptolemaioi did not press their Argead connections very far.[182] In fact, however, the genealogical strands preserved in a number of accounts paint a different picture. In all of them, Ptolemaios I is presented as having direct blood relations with the Argead kings. In what seems to be the most widely iterated version, Ptolemaios I inherited this connection through his mother, Arsinoe. Satyros, evidently a contemporary of Ptolemaios IV, traced the patrilinear descent of Arsinoe directly through the various Makedonian kings, all the way back to Herakles, the mythical founder of the Argeadai, and Dionysos.[183] The Adulis inscription, dating to the reign of Ptolemaios III, suggests that this link was first promulgated long before

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[178] It is most probably a remnant from the period of the original migrations of the Makedones from the mountains to the fertile lowlands of the Pierian plain. Those Makedones who settled there and subsequently formed and extended the Kingdom of Makedonia became known as the Argeadai. See Edson's discussion (1970), pp. 20-21, followed by Borza (1992), pp. 79-80.
[179] Hdt. 8.137-139.
[180] Diod. 19.105.3-4.
[181] For Ptolemaic court poetry as promoting the cultural agenda of its patrons see Stephens (2003).
[182] Walbank (1993), p. 1725.
[183] Satyros *FGrHist* 631 F 2, preserved in Theoph. 2.7, *P.Oxy.* 2465. For the Argive ancestry of the Makedonian kings see Thouk. 2.99. Satyros' genealogy ends with the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator. Certainly, he wrote no later than the reign of Ptolemaios VI Philometor when his Lives were epitomised by Heraklides Lembos, Souda, s.v. *Heraklides* η 462, Diog. Laert. 8.40, 9.26.

Satyros.[184]

Connections with the Argeadai were not only drawn in order to establish a common mythical ancestry. Another story, which was invented most probably in the court circles of Ptolemaios I, attempted to anchor Ptolemaic lineage directly on the mortal line of Argead kings by presenting him as the illegitimate son of Philippos II.[185] According to Pausanias and Curtius, our sources for the story, Ptolemaios' mother was a concubine of Philippos II. Having become pregnant by him, she was married off to the obscure Lagos who bore the responsibility of raising the bastard son of the Makedonian king.[186] The historicity of this claim has been discredited, but veracity is not what matters in this context. Instead, it is the *illusion* that the two houses, Argead and Ptolemaic, were tightly linked through blood that was promoted by the Ptolemaioi. Against this background, one can interpret the close association of Alexandros and Ptolemaios I's statues in dynastic celebrations and central public buildings as promoting this fictional half- brother relationship. Examples of this association can be found in the, no-doubt massively attended, procession of the Ptolemaia, as well as in the dynastic sculptural group situated at the now lost Tychaion, which housed the inscribed plaques of the laws of Alexandria.[187]

Without naming Philippos as the father, Claudius Aelianus preserves another relevant snippet of gossip, whereby Arsinoe gave birth to an illegitimate Ptolemaios while she was married to Lagos. In this version, the latter did not bear his responsibility with dignity. Instead, he exposed the infant on a bronze shield to die. The child survived through the intervention of a male eagle, which sheltered it from the elements and fed it with his own blood.[188] The currency of the eagle myth could find a possible parallel in the choice of the Ptolemaic eagle as a symbol for the Ptolemaic dynasty. It is interesting to note how both stories about the illegitimate birth (with Philippos as the only named candidate) and the descent from Herakles (as the son of Zeus) can be seen as coming together in the Ptolemaic Eagle. As the staple image in most Ptolemaic coins down to the end of the Ptolemaic era, it is arguably the most recognizable symbol of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

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[184] *OGIS* 54, (246-241 BCE).
[185] See Tarn (1913), p. 57. Contra Collins (1997) who argues that the story originated in Macedonia by Ptolemaios Keraunos.
[186] Curt. 9.8.22, Paus. 1.6.2.
[187] Kallix. *FGrHist* F 2 ll. 305-307, Rice (1983), Nikolaos Rhetor in Ps.-Libanios *Progymnasmata* 25.1-9. The building was a commission either of Ptolemaios I or II, Kosmetatou (2004), pp. 243-244 with bibliography.
[188] Cl. Ael. Fr. 285.7-9, "*καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῷ παρέχειν τροφὴν ὡς γάλα.*"

As hinted at above, Ptolemaios I's choice of coin iconography was not wholly innovative. He made use of traditional themes that already existed on Argead coinage, and which communicated the earthly power and divine connections of the kings.[189] The staple of Ptolemaic coin iconography, the eagle, first appeared on the coinage of Archelaos I.[190] Closer to the 'Ptolemaic eagle' type with its closed wings, standing on Zeus' thunderbolt, was the 'eagle' coinage of Amyntas III, Perdikkas III and later on, Alexandros III.[191] Although the eagle does not figure on coins of Philippos II, Zeus' iconic symbol, the thunderbolt, occurs frequently.[192] The laureate head of the king of the gods was another very common image on Ptolemaic coins, while the portrait of the Ptolemaic king was frequently depicted wearing Zeus' aegis.[193] Zeus was introduced on Makedonian coinage on Philippos' silver tetradrachms around the middle of the fourth century BCE.[194] As the father of Makedon, the eponymous ancestor of the Makedones, the cult of Zeus carried special significance for the Makedones.[195] The genealogical rhetoric of the Ptolemaioi, as revealed by Theokritos' enkomion to Ptolemaios II, implies that behind the popularity of Zeus and his attributes on Ptolemaic coinage lay a Ptolemaic claim of descent from the same god who had fathered Alexandros: "*From Zeus let us begin and, Muses, cease with Zeus*."[196] Although, in all probability, the rationale behind the choice of any of the symbols examined will remain elusive, it is worth considering that the reason behind the Ptolemaic adoption of the Zeus-type had a more concrete political dimension. His image was originally adopted at a time when an expanding Makedonia was looking for a patron of pan-hellenic appeal to accommodate the sensitivities of the Hellenic states falling rapidly under its sphere of influence. It is possible that, like Alexandros before him, who continued to mint Philippos' Zeus-types upon his accession, Ptolemaios I recognized that he had also become the leader of disparate groups of

[189] Mylonas (1946).
[190] *Syll. Cop.* 505 (open wings, no thunderbolt).
[191] *Syll. ANS*, 94-96, 113, Le Rider (1996), pp. 91-94.
[192] Price (1991), p. 106, Le Rider (1977), pp. 423, 425-6.
[193] Price (1974), pp. 18-36. The bronze diobol with the laureate head of Zeus remained the standard bronze unit until the middle of the reign of Ptolemaios II, Lorber (2007), p. 137, Mørkholm (1991), pp. 63, 106.
[194] Price (1974), pp. 21-22, Le Rider (1977), pp. 7, 73, 363-364.
[195] Sanctuary of Zeus at Dion, Diod. 17.16, Hes. F 7 (IN Merkelbach and West *Fragmenta Hesiodea*). The Hesiodic fragment is quoted in Konstantinos Porfyrogennitos *De them.* 2: "*ἡ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη Διὶ γείνατο τερπικεραύνωι υἷε δύω, Μάγνητα Μακηδόνα θ' ἱπποχάρμην, οἳ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὄλυμπον δώματ' ἔναιον*." See also Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* s.v. Makedonia and Voutyras (2006).
[196] Theok. *Eid.* 17.1ff.

non-Makedones.[197] The image of Zeus on the coinage provided a more than respectable mythical ancestry for the new dynasty, and more importantly, a familiar and common frame of reference with the Hellenic-Macedonian population of Alexandria.

THE ALEXANDRIAN CONNECTION

It is the *communis opinio* of ancient and modern scholarship that the dynastic legitimacy of the Diadochoi stemmed from the manipulation of their association to Alexandros III. Such claims were made on the basis of their personal closeness to the King during his lifetime or by their imitation of his behaviour and regalia posthumously.[198] The strength of Alexandros' legitimating power in non-Makedonian territory, like Egypt, rested primarily on two grounds: Alexandros provided the new foreign ruling élite with a link to its Hellenic-Makedonian past, but most importantly he furnished ties with the land itself. As the territory was won by Alexandros' spear, Ptolemaios I had to devise ways according to which he could claim to be his legitimate Successor. Additionally, as the Hellenic-Makedonian immigrants of Alexandria, most of which had either served under him as soldiers, or were familiar with his career, constituted the primary audience for Ptolemaios' legitimating claims, he could not afford to disregard their expectations regarding his right to rule.[199]

Alexandros penetrated the everyday lives of the ordinary citizens of Alexandria from early on. To begin with, a founder cult in honour of Alexandros as *Κτίστης* (the Founder) was inaugurated in Alexandria possibly even during Alexandros' lifetime and persisted until well into the Christian era.[200] Distinct from the state cult instituted

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[197] Cf. Price (1991), p. 31.

[198] See Plout. *Dem*. 41.4-5, *Pyrr*. 8.1, Bosworth (2002), pp. 275, 278, Chaniotis (2005), p. 58, Bingen (2007), pp. 15- 30.

[199] For the Hellenes and Makedones as the source of dynastic stability for the Ptolemaioi, see Bagnall IN Bingen (2007), p. 279.

[200] The only unambiguous reference to a cult and priesthood of Alexandros the Ktistes comes from a papyrus of 120-121 CE (SB 3.6611), see Fraser (1972), I, p. 212. However, the so-called Alexandros Romance of pseudo-Kallisthenes, which was never intended as an accurate historical account, but the importance of which for Alexandrian traditions and insights on Ptolemaic propaganda is acknowledged, informs us that the institution of a priesthood of Alexandros was provisioned in his will, Ps.-Kallisth. Rec. α 3.33.19-20. For the cult of Alexandros at Alexandria, see Taylor (1927). For the value of Pseudo-Kallisthenes as Ptolemaic propaganda, cf. Bosworth (2000). An equestrian statue of Alexandros the Founder (*Κτίστης*) in Alexandria is described in some detail by Nikolaos Rhetor of Myra in Ps.-Libanios Progymnasmata 12.27. As for the worship of Alexandros as a hero since the foundation of Alexandria see Ps.-Kallisth. Rec. α 1.32.5-13. This extract includes the story of the killing of the great serpent by Alexandros and how the people of Alexandria offered sacrifices to the slayer as

by Ptolemaios I around the turn of the fourth century BCE, the founder cult in Alexandria seems to have echoed the traditions of founder worship that were a typical feature of Hellenic colonial foundations.[201] The founder cult was very closely integrated with the formation of the civic identity of new settlements. It provided a common 'past' for the new city of which Alexandros, as the founder, was to hold centre place.[202] If one accepts Pseudo-Kallisthenes, Alexandros as Ktistes was worshipped in especially dedicated sanctuaries but also in a household environment.[203] The cult legend of the foundation of Alexandria is important in this context as it provides the setting through which Alexandros' presence penetrated the domestic cultic life of the Alexandrians. According to the legend, after the slaying of the great serpent that appeared during the foundation of the city, Alexandros built a shrine to commemorate his feat. Out of the shrine doors, however, there emerged myriads of other serpents which each found their way into the newly built houses of the Alexandrians. The soothsayers present decreed that these should be worshipped as good spirits, (*ἀγαθοί δαίμονες*).[204] Through this association with the Agathos Daimon (Good Fortune/Spirit) the figure of Alexandros became intertwined with the good fortune/spirit of the city and as such assumed duties of protection. According to the description of Ammianus Marcellinus, the temple to the Agathos Daimon of Alexandria was still standing at the crossroads of the two main avenues of the city in the fourth century CE. This same account testifies that even at this late date the Alexandrians were very protective towards it.[205] In addition, the large number of statuettes representing Alexandros wearing the aegis (the so-called Alexandros Aigiochos type) recovered from Alexandria, Ptolemais and elsewhere in the Egyptian chora and which date from throughout the Hellenic-Roman period, seem to support the possibility that a domestic cult of Alexandros as the founder of Alexandria was

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hero: "..*θυσία τελεῖται αὐτῷ, τῷ, ἥρωι*." Also in ps.-Kallisth. Rec. α 2.21.19-20 Alexandros designates one Moschylos whom he had left in charge of affairs in Egypt, to found a temple to his name. Interestingly, an Aischylos is mentioned in Arr. *Anab*. 3.5.3 and Curtius 4.8.4, but only as an overseer with no reference to a temple commission. Taylor posits other examples of founders of cities that were worshipped as such during their lifetime, Taylor (1927), p. 167 n.3.

[201] Diod. 18.28.4-5, Paus. 1.7.1, Kosmetatou (2004), p. 241 with references. For the date of the institution of the dynastic cult, see Könen (1993), p. 50, Stewart (1993), p. 247.

[202] See Antonaccio (1999).

[203] Ps-Kallisth. Rec. α 1.32.11-12 and 2.21.12-21. Sanctuaries of Alexandros in Alexandria are mentioned in connection to the celebrations of his birthday, which were known as Alexandrina.

[204] Ps-Kallisth. Rec. α 1.32.5-13.

[205] Amm. Marc. 21.11.6-7.

prominent.[206] Although this view has been challenged by Stewart, who favours a dynastic cult context for these statuettes as opposed to a domestic one, their small size and the snake-fringed aegis that covers the torso of Alexandros, as well as other serpentine details, cannot preclude a more generalised domestic worship of the conqueror associated with good fortune.[207]

Ptolemaios I was quick to realize the dynamics of Alexandros' potential for legitimating his rule and equally keen to exploit the attraction he held for the Hellenic-Makedonian public. Alexandros' posthumous presence in Egypt was not limited to the abstract memory of his achievements and to his worship in domestic or state cults, all-pervasive as they might have been.[208] The early Ptolemaioi made sure that visual prompts of their association as rulers with the conqueror of Egypt were in constant supply. A study of the extant portraits of Alexandros from the early Ptolemaic period reveals that his image was institutionalised to an unprecedented degree in comparison to the rest of the Successor Kingdoms.[209] It also figured prominently on early Ptolemaic coinage, whose primary function "*is to record the messages which the* [ruler] *and his advisers desired to commend to the populations* [under their control]".[210] Although the minting of particular coin types can be attributed to commemorative and honorific purposes alongside propagandistic ones, a conscious thought process is invariably involved in the choice of symbols to be portrayed on the coinage of a political unit.[211] Ptolemaios I was the first of the Successors to mint coins bearing the portrait of Alexandros and the first to tweak the iconography of the standard Alexandros-type tetradrachms into a uniquely Ptolemaic variety.[212]

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[206] According to von Schwarzenberg (1976): "*every self-respecting Alexandrian household had a shrine dedicated both to the founder of the city and to its good genius*," p. 235.

[207] *Contra* Stewart (1993), p. 247. Reproductions of some versions of the Aigiochos type and a list of extant figurines with bibliography can be found in Stewart (1993), pp. 241-242.

[208] For the state cult of Alexandros see Fraser (1972), I, p. 215. The Egyptian priestly class had its own reasons for promoting the legitimation of the new dynasty ever since the conquest by incorporating its kings into the traditional Egyptian king worship. According to Burstein (1991): "*A break in the line of god kings that stretched back to the beginning of Egyptian history literally threatened Egypt's continued existence by making impossible the proper performance of the rituals on which its very existence depended and was, therefore, intolerable*," p. 141.

[209] Stewart (1993), pp. 229-262.

[210] Mørkholm (1983), p. 63.

[211] Howgego (1995), pp. 71-72.

[212] Alexandros wearing an elephant headdress appeared first in Ptolemaic Egypt around 319 BCE, and it was not until much later that the theme was picked up by other Successors; cf. Mørkholm (1991), pp. 27, 63. See also Hölbl (2001), p. 111 and n. 213, Stewart (1993), pp. 233-234 with bibliography. If the gold double daric form the Mir Zakah treasure representing Alexandros with the elephant headdress is authentic, then a currently puzzling Ptolemaic iconographic innovation would prove a unique imitation of an Alexandros lifetime issue. See Bopearachchi and Flandrin (2005) and Holt (unpublished

Although remarkably similar to the idealised head of the youthful Herakles with the lion skin on Alexandros' lifetime issues, the young man depicted on the new Ptolemaic Alexandroi wore an elephant headdress; a distinct historical allusion to Alexandros' conquest of India. The "Alexandroi" remained in circulation until the need to pay for mercenary armies in recognizable, hence legitimate, currency subsided and Ptolemaios I felt secure enough in his newly proclaimed royal position to mint coins bearing his own portrait.[213] Once more, he was the first to supplant the image and legend of Alexandros with his own. However, certain of the symbols Ptolemaios I chose to emphasise as significant, (e.g. the Ptolemaic Eagle) are encountered in earlier Argead issues, indicating a continuity in dynastic semiology that has already been elucidated above.

As far as visual prompts go, however, the most dramatic in providing a concrete ideological reminder of the rightful claim of the Ptolemaic dynasty to the throne was Alexandros' own body. Diverted from its funeral cortège, which was probably escorting it back to Aigai, it was finally put on prominent display in Alexandria where it stayed until at least the reign of Caracalla in the early third century CE.[214] Although not an absolute prerequisite for succession, and the evidence certainly does not warrant it being called a custom, it appears that in Makedonia, as well as in Pharaonic Egypt, the legitimate successor would frequently provide for the burial of his predecessor.[215] In a magisterial act of propaganda Ptolemaios I thus singled himself out from the rest of the Successors of Alexandros as the guardian of the king's body; an idea he further elaborated upon by instituting a cult with an eponymous priesthood in Alexandros' honour.[216] By the time of Ptolemaios Philadelphos' accession to the throne in 283 BCE Alexandros' carefully constructed role, as the predecessor of the Ptolemaic dynasty, must have permeated public and domestic life in Alexandria, which constituted the centre of the Hellenic-Makedonian experience in Egypt.

Ptolemaios I's pioneering and persistent manipulation of Alexandros' image and cultic presence, as well as the early circulation of genealogical myths promoting firm

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conference paper read at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, March 2007). My thanks extend to Professor Stanley M. Burstein for kindly sending me an electronic version.

[213] de Callataÿ (2007), p. 121, n. 19. The new type was introduced shortly after Ptolemaios I became king, Mørkholm (1991), p. 66.

[214] Paus. 1.6.3. For Alexandros' wish to be buried at Siwah, see Curt. 10.5.4, Just. 12.15.7. Caracalla's visit to the Sema/Soma is the last one recorded, Herodian 4.8.9. See further Chugg (2002).

[215] Diod. 17.2.1 (Alexandros III burying Philippos II). For the Pharaonic practice, see Malek (2003), p. 91. See also Kantorowicz (1997), pp. 314-335.

[216] For the Alexandros cult, see above n. 200.

connections with Philippos II and the rest of the Argead clan reveal as much about the need for legitimation in the new state of Egypt under the Ptolemaioi, as for the ideological force that the old Makedonian dynasty traditionally commanded over the people. First appearing in the eight century BCE, the tribe of the Argeadai, descending from Argeas, the son of Makedon, the son of Zeus, became the dominant tribe in the Emathian plain, the heartland of the Makedonian state.[217] The members of the clan took over the performance of sacred rites and ritual practices believed to ensure the prosperity of the Makedones.[218] Gradually, these became the responsibility of the Argead king and members of the dynastic family who performed them in the name of the Makedones.[219] The Argead dynasty's ideological monopoly of meaning and ritual practices was successful in rallying the Makedones for more than four hundred years. This fact alone explains why the Ptolemaioi sought so fervently to establish ideological links of continuity with their Argead past. At the same time, however, the introduction of an elaborate dynastic cult, venerating the Ptolemaic dynasty (albeit rooted in Alexandros III), suggests that the Ptolemaioi staked an ideological claim to meaning in Ptolemaic Egypt in their own right.[220] In doing so, they were elaborating on the successful example of their Argead predecessors, taking the ideological potential of the dynasty as a unifying force one step further and into the realm of religion.[221]

The Dynasty as Political Power: The Principles of Dynastic Organisation

It has been stated in the introduction to this chapter that the 'dynasty' is as much an abstract notion, which commands ideological power, as an agglomeration of people, whose organisation of social relations demands centralised regulation. The king, who

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[217] Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* s.v. *Ἀργέου*, App. *Syr.* 333.

[218] For the Argead rites, see Ath. *Deipn.* 14.659.

[219] Ps.-Kallisth. Rec. α 3.33.11-12.

[220] Already by the time of Philadelphos around 270 BCE the Ptolemaioi appear alongside Alexandros in the eponymous priesthoods, which now attain the standardised but flexibly expansive formula of "the priest of Alexandros and the *Θεοί Ἀδελφοί*." In his fifth year, Ptolemaios III Euergetes added his own name to the list and that of his wife Berenike II. Their successors followed the pattern. As time went by the ancestors of the reigning couple were added to the list which kept growing as did the title of the priest of Alexandros. See further Koenen (1993).

[221] For discussions on the nascent dynastic cult in Argead Makedonia, see Fredricksmeyer (1979, 1981), Carney (2000).

successfully manages the boundaries between himself and his social networks, is seen as exercising political power. In order for a monarchy to function smoothly, the organisation of dynastic power in its political aspect entails the institutionalisation and routinisation of one key structure: the pattern of succession. In turn, succession can be influenced by other structures, which in the case of Argead Makedonia can be summarised in the practice of royal polygamy. Finally, given the prominence of dynastic marriages in the legitimation process of the ruler's position the last section of this chapter will address the role of royal females. Overall, it will be argued that the early Ptolemaioi looked back into their Argead past, not only for bolstering their own ideological significance vis-à-vis their antagonists in the manner that has been discussed above, but also for drawing paradigms for their dynastic organisation. Recognising the paramount importance of dynastic stability as an instrument of imperial rule, a rare state of affairs in Argead Makedonia, the Ptolemaioi attempted to improve the system of dynastic succession.

PATTERNS OF SUCCESSION

Although Argead history is rife with dynastic instability, in almost four centuries of recorded Makedonian history, up until the reign of Alexandros IV, the king belonged to the Argead royal house. It was very seldom that outsiders would contend for the throne and even then, their dissociation from the Argead dynasty cannot be unequivocally proven.[222] In the troubled early fourth century BCE, the pretender Pausanias was, according to the scholiast in Aischines, a member of the royal family (*οὗτος ἦν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους*).[223] Equally, it is possible that his rival, Ptolemaios of Aloros, the favourite of the recently widowed queen Eurydike, was the great-great-grandson of Alexandros I.[224] It is also relevant to note that, as a rule of

[222] The most straightforward case of an outside pretender is apparently that of Argaios, who in 393 BCE appears to have expelled Amyntas III from his kingdom with the help of Illyrians. Diodoros (14.92.4) mentions that he ruled for two years after that, but acceptance of this comment has become increasingly challenged, see Borza (1992), pp. 182, 297 with references. However, although we possess no information as to his origins or family, he does bear an Argead royal name. According to Herodotos (8.139.1) an Argaios ruled Makedonia around the middle of the seventh century BCE. As Argead royal names have a high percentage of repetition, this might imply that the pretender Argaios was in some way related to the royal house. Of course, without any additional evidence this remains only a conjecture.

[223] *Schol. in Aisch.* 2.26-27, also Diod. 16.2.6.

[224] Just. 7.4.7-8, 7.5.3-8. Diodoros (15.71.1) describes him simply as "*son of Amyntas*" and Alexandros II as his brother. This has been the cause of a lot of debate. See Hammond (1972-1988, II, pp. 181-183), who suggested that he was the son of Amyntas II. Macurdy (1932, pp. 18, 32) thought that he was a

thumb, pretenders to the Makedonian throne with dubious dynastic connections were backed by foreign powers.[225]

This information, therefore, elucidates the fact that membership to the Argead royal house was a prerequisite for ruling the Makedones. The actual pattern and process of succession, however, is far less clear. The most direct evidence in regard to Makedonian royal succession is the emergency deliberations that followed the sudden death of Alexandros III. It is extremely interesting to note that in this case there was no obvious and unchallenged successor in line.

Mitchell has argued that understanding the nature of the Makedonian state depends heavily on the understanding of the mechanics of succession.[226] Once more, the constitutionalist/absolutist debate on the nature of the Makedonian monarchy has a bearing on scholarly interpretations. Constitutionalists, such as Hammond and Hatzopoulos, argue that succession was determined in accordance to the law and had to be validated by an Assembly of Makedones (either under arms or popular).[227] However, as Borza rightly argues, acclamation of the army is not the same as election by it.[228] There is evidence for men in arms or civilians present during accession proceedings both in the Argead and the Successor period. Philippos II, according to Justinus, was forced by the people (*a populo*) to take up the government.[229] Arridaios was acclaimed (*ἀνάρρησιν*) as king by the army in Babylon and was given the name Philippos.[230] During the era of the Diadochoi, Demetrios Poliorketes was proclaimed king (*ἐκεῖνον ἀνηγόρευσαν βασιλέα Μακεδόνων*) by the Makedones.[231] Similarly, a decade earlier, in the year of the Kings, Ptolemaios I stood in front of his army, who pronounced him king (*rex ab exercitu cognominatur*).[232] Rather than denoting a choice with binding effects, the acclamation of the army might simply represent approval, or what Borza calls "*a publicly demonstrative expression of support*."[233] The social relations

bastard son of Amyntas III (followed by Mortensen 1992, p. 157), while Borza makes the suggestion that he could have been the grandson of Archelaos by his son Amyntas, (1992, p. 191).

[225] Argaios was supported by the Illyrians in 393 BCE (Diod. 14.92) and the Athenians in 359 BCE (Diod. 16.2.6, 16.3.3). In the early 370s BCE, Pausanias and Ptolemaios of Aloros were supported against each other by the Thrakes (Diod. 16.2.6, 16.3.4) and the Athenians (Aisch. 2.29) respectively.

[226] Mitchell (2007), p. 64.

[227] Hammond (1972-1988), II, pp. 152-158, Hammond (1989), pp. 58-64, Hatzopoulos (1996), I, pp. 276-279.

[228] Borza (1992), pp. 244-246.

[229] Just. 7.5.10.

[230] Arr. *Τά Μετά Ἀλέξανδρον* 1.1.

[231] Plout. *Dem.* 37.1-2, in 294 BCE.

[232] Just. 15.2.11, App. *Syr.* 54, 305 BCE.

[233] Borza (1992), p. 245.

between the army (especially the national army of the Makedones) and the king both in Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt were in any case structured around personal bonds of familiarity, strengthened by the custom of *παρρησία* (i.e. the ability to address the king directly and freely), and reciprocal obligations of consent, praise and rewards.[234] No king could afford to lose the support of their army, and no (national) army would comply to a king's orders unless he held their respect and without the promise of some material rewards.[235] Far from being of legal significance, the practice of acclamation could have a ceremonial character much in the same way that the army swore an oath of allegiance to new rulers.[236]

Further, Hatzopoulos puts forward an exhaustive case supporting the existence of a rule of primogeniture, whereby the first son born to the king after his accession would be the one to succeed him.[237] His arguments have been rejected by minimalists of the order of Carney and Borza who are convinced that, even if some sort of primogeniture did apply, it never genuinely operated.[238] On the other hand, Errington who also rejects the constitutionalist approach, has argued that it was the "first of the Makedones" (i.e. the Makedonian aristocracy) that jointly decided on matters of succession. He also assumes that there indeed existed an heir apparent and that he was the eldest son of the king, regardless of whether he was born in the purple or not.[239] Others, such as Greenwalt, are of the opinion that the king simply appointed his own successor.[240] All these views can be supported by the sources, but for none is the evidence so consistent so as to speak of a pattern. The futility of discerning patterns of succession cannot be made more clear than when one considers all the different options put forward for the resolution of the succession crisis in the confusing few days after Alexandros III's death. Almost all of the aforementioned modern views on principles of succession were voiced in the Conference of Babylon, and although everybody who had assembled there to discuss the alternatives welcomed the possibility of the successor belonging to the Argead dynasty, it seems that pretty much any resolution was open for discussion. While Perdikkas suggested that the child of Roxanne, the official wife of Alexandros III, should inherit the rule,

[234] For the evidence on the freedom of speech, see Adams (1986) and Lock (1977).
[235] See further Austin (1986).
[236] For Argead Makedonia, see Diod. 16.3.2, 17.2.2, Just. 13.2.14, 13.3.1, Curt. 10.7.9. For Ptolemaic Egypt, Polyb. 15.25.11.
[237] Hatzopoulos (1986).
[238] Carney (1983), (2000), pp. 23-27, Borza (1990), pp. 177, 243-244.
[239] Errington (1978), esp. p. 99.
[240] Greenwalt (1989), pp. 19-43.

Nearchos vied for Alexandros' first-born son, Herakles, son of Barsine. Meanwhile, Aristonous was arguing that the king had already appointed his heir when he gave his signet ring to Perdikkas, but was met with Meleagros' opposition. To top it all, Ptolemaios made the unprecedented suggestion that the extended Makedonian Empire could be governed by a council of generals, who would decide by majority-voting. Finally, the voice of an unidentified soldier proposed the winning motion; that the rule over the Makedones should go to the only surviving male adult blood relative of Alexandros, his half-brother Philippos Arridaios.[241]

Summing up, the sheer confusion that typically followed the sudden death of the ruler attests to the fact that there were no fixed principles of succession, other than a strong partiality towards members of the Argead dynasty. These had, of course, to be male, not necessarily of age, and most often they happened to be the sons of the ruling king or indeed his brothers or uncles, which means that they were still the sons, or grandsons (in cases the great-grandsons) of a king. As the perceived right to rule moved laterally, between brothers, as well as vertically, between fathers and sons, this meant that, if anything, there was not one particular legitimate vertical line of succession, although one seems to have been kept between the reigns of Alexandros I through to Orestes, the underage successor of Archelaos. Pretenders and usurpers of the Makedonian throne could justify their claims by relying on their Argead dynastic connections, but as Mitchell contends, it was their personal ability to spot the opportunities and manage the social relationships that would grant them the necessary support, which made them stand out or fail in the dynastic arena.[242] This was equally true in the crucial period during the struggle for dynastic supremacy, as it was during the actual reign. The only long and successful kingships were the ones of rulers that were able to regulate effectively the social relations between themselves and their supporters, such as Perdikkas II and Philippos II. These kings enjoyed political power and a significantly more stable rule for forty one and twenty four years respectively.

One can compare to that effect the occasions where an infant or underage king came to the Makedonian throne. In most cases, the appointed regent would murder, or usurp power from the rightful, yet politically disempowered king. The stable father-son line of succession mentioned earlier was interrupted because the

[241] Curt. 10.6.1-7.15, Diod. 18.2.
[242] Mitchell (2007).

regent and uncle of the child Orestes, Airopos, murdered him.[243] Similarly, Philippos II usurped power from the infant Amyntas IV, if ever he acted as his regent.[244] Even if Philippos II was pronounced king immediately following the death of Perdikkas III, it remains a fact that the son of the previous king was bypassed by his brother and that certainly strengthens the view for the lack of a legitimate line of succession. In the only occasion, where the infant king grew to adulthood and did away with his own regent, (in the case of Perdikkas III and Ptolemaios of Aloros) the latter had failed to assume the kingship for himself although he had actually murdered Perdikkas III's predecessor, his brother, Alexandros II.[245] In the meantime, Perdikkas III position was strengthened by the support of the Athenian general Iphikrates, called into action by the former's mother Eurydike.[246]

The accession of Philippos II will be brought in at this point as indicative of the inconsistencies of succession in Argead Makedonia. His father, Amyntas III, was the great-grandson of Alexandros I, and the grandson of one of the latter's five sons, Arridaios, who as it so happened was never king. Philippos II himself was the youngest son of Amyntas III's four children with Eurydike. Amyntas fathered three more sons with a wife named Gygaia. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to confirm which marriage took place first.[247] When Philippos II's two older brothers, who both became rulers, Alexandros II and Perdikkas III, had been murdered and killed respectively, Philippos II was appointed either regent and tutor to Perdikkas III's infant son, Amyntas IV, or directly, king. In both scenarios, the child was bypassed and he was king within a few months of Perdikkas III's death. Although Amyntas IV was allowed to live during Philippos' reign, his status as a rightful contender to the Makedonian rule forced Alexandros III to remove him from the political scene immediately upon his accession.[248]

The circumstances surrounding the succession of Philippos II bring to the foreground another very important parameter that should have a bearing on patterns of succession, namely the practice of polygamy. In the presence of multiple sets of

[243] Arist. *Pol.* 1311b, Diod. 14.37.5-6, 14.84.6.
[244] For an overview of that debate see Ellis (1971). The debate centres on the conflicting accounts of Justinus (7.5.9-10) and Diodoros (16.1.3), as well as the scholiast of Aischines (3.51). The latter two place Philippos II directly on the throne in 359 BCE, while Justinus mentions a long period of regency.
[245] Just. 7.4.5, Diod. 15.77, 16.2.
[246] See Kallet (1983).
[247] For a later marriage of Gygaia, see Carney (2000), pp. 46-48. *Contra* Greenwalt (2010), who claims the marriages were concurrent and Gygaia was probably the first wife, p. 286.
[248] Arr. *Anab.* 1.5.4.

wives and offspring it begs the question, which son out of which set of children would be promoted for succession, at the expense of the rest. At first glance, at least in the case of Philippos II, it appears that the children of Eurydike could have been preferred because they might have been older than those of Gygaia. Or, they could have been promoted on the grounds of the king's personal predilection either for his first-born or for Eurydike herself. All these interpretations, however, are conjectural. The fact remains that judging by the extant evidence all Argead kings had to secure their position upon accession by eliminating opposition from other members of the dynasty and by cultivating stable social relations with their base of supporters. It is symptomatic of this instability that even Alexandros III, whose posthumous 'greatness' was of course not apparent to his contemporaries, at least not before the Asian campaign, had to worry that his election as heir would not be straightforward. His anxiety over being sidelined for succession by his elder half-brother Arridaios is well documented in the events surrounding the Pixodaros affair.[249]

Tarn was the first to notice rightly that in the Makedonian dynasties legitimacy of succession was at best a vague matter.[250] The principles of seniority and primogeniture did not uniformly apply, neither between sons of the same mother, nor across different mother-son groups. The polygamous practices of the Argead and early Ptolemaic kings exacerbated the situation in expanding the dynastic pool of candidates. It seems quite probable to the author that there existed favourites, which were groomed as future kings from an early age (like Alexandros III), but the reality was that once the king was dead, other potential successors could stake a claim to kingship and challenge the dauphin. In the end, all interested parties would have had to fight it out between themselves. The victor was usually the one with the strongest support base and the one with the more charismatic personality, *pace* Weber. In short, if ever there were principles that guided succession in Argead Makedonia, they were either ill-defined to being with, or poorly enforced.

The history of Ptolemaic Egypt is equally rife with dynastic struggle and instability. However, this is more a staple of the later period than it is characteristic of the early

[249] Arr. *Anab*. 3.6.5, Plout. *Alex*. 10.4.
[250] Tarn (1921), p. 20.

reign of the Ptolemaioi over Egypt.[251] This stability is partly due to an innovation wrought by Ptolemaios I, which alongside the choice of the name Ptolemaios for every heir apparent, constituted the most lasting contribution of the new ruler of Egypt in cementing the dynastic power of the Ptolemaioi. In effect, Ptolemaios I constructed a legitimate line of succession. Although he did not scourge the source of the problem, (i.e. polygamy, which will be discussed below) he did find a solution to remedy some of its ills. By effectively nominating his successor well in advance and instituting the practice of co-regency, he normalised the transition of power and preserved the political strength of the ruler, which would otherwise have been dispensed in fending off potential dynastic rivals.[252] Ptolemaios II was named co-regent on the 39th regnal year of his father and they ruled jointly for two years until the death of Ptolemaios I.[253] Literary sources suggest that he in fact was the effective ruler during the period of co-regency. Porphyrios of Tyros mentions that "*while he* [Ptolemaios I] *was still alive, he gave his rule to his son Ptolemaios who was called Philadelphos and a further two years he lived under the son who now ruled.*"[254] The success of the new system in directing compliance towards the new ruler is aptly described by Justinus: "…*the people* […] *showed themselves no less indulgent in accepting the son for their king than the father*..."[255] This smooth transition becomes all the more admirable when one considers that Ptolemaios II was the youngest of all of Ptolemaios I's sons. Some few hundred years later, Justinus marvelled at this contravention "*of the ius gentium*," most probably alluding to the principle of primogeniture most common in later periods.[256] Ptolemaios II's two elder half-brothers, Meleagros and Ptolemaios Keraunos, who were bypassed in succession, fled Egypt, apparently without contending for the throne, and ended up in Makedonia where they both served brief spells as kings.[257] Two more brothers by

[251] The first pronounced episode of dynastic rivalry is the struggle between the brothers Ptolemaios VI and VIII and their sister Kleopatra II in the early decades of the second century BCE. See Whitehorne, chs. 8, 9, 10.
[252] Kantorowicz (1957). Justinus described the co-regency as a resignation from the throne.
[253] The earliest attested date for the sole reign of Ptolemaios II is 282 BCE, Year 4, *SEG* 28.1224. The latest date for the reign of Ptolemaios I is 282 BCE, Year 41, *P. Eleph.* 3, *P. Eleph.* 4. Contemporary papyri demonstrate that Ptolemaios II sometimes dated his regnal years from the beginning of his co-regency and sometimes from the end. As long as Ptolemaios I, however, was alive official documents are dated by his regnal year.
[254] Porphyrios of Tyros *FGrHist* 260 F 2.2-3.
[255] Just. 16.2.8.
[256] Just. 16.2.7.
[257] App. *Syr.* 10.62, Corn. Nepos 21.3 mention that Ptolemaios Keraunos left Egypt in fear, or was expelled right after the accession of Ptolemaios II. For his spell in Makedonia, see Diod. 21.4 and Porphyrios *FGrHist* 260 F 3.10. Meleagros succeeded Ptolemaios Keraunos as king in Makedonia, Just. 24.2-3.

Eurydike are attested by Polybios to have conspired against the new king. This was a serious digression for which they were duly killed.[258]

On a very practical level, this innovation contributed to the stabilisation of the political power of the Ptolemaic dynasty in the early period. Even though the habit of eliminating possible contenders was not eradicated, in terms of outward appearances the dynasty was a manifestation of stability. The successor was nominated and groomed for his duties, long before he assumed them. Although not practiced religiously by all the Ptolemaic kings, a good number of them chose to associate their successor with themselves on the throne, before it became vacant. Ptolemaios II co-ruled with Ptolemaios the Son for almost a decade, dating all the official documents between 267 and 259 BCE with the protocol *Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίου*.[259] When the latter became involved in a conspiracy in Miletos it was evident that the co-regency was no longer bound by mutual interest. As social relations between the king and his dynastic successor broke down the partnership was terminated.[260] As the only surviving male of Ptolemaios II's line, the throne passed to Ptolemaios III. Even though he did not associate his successor to the throne through a co-regency, he nevertheless was the first in a long line of Makedonian rulers to have married only once. Judging by the silence of the sources, Ptolemaios III was succeeded, rather uneventfully, by his eldest son, Ptolemaios IV.[261] It is indicative of the dynastic stability of the early Ptolemaic period that the rulers enjoyed long, uninterrupted reigns of forty one, thirty eight and twenty five years respectively, while most significantly, all three of them died of natural causes. Together, the first three Ptolemaioi make up for more than one third of the Ptolemaic era.

The co-regency system, coupled with the dying down of the polygamous practices of the Ptolemaic rulers, furnished some necessary checks and balances in the dynastic organisation of the chaotic and ill-defined Argead patterns of succession. The dynasty, as an abstract concept, was as important to the Ptolemaioi as it was to the Argeadai. In fact, given that the Ptolemaic state was constructed *ex nihilo* in the eyes of the Makedones and the Hellenes who migrated to Egypt, its ideological organisation

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[258] Paus. 1.7.1
[259] See Hazzard (2000).
[260] For an overview of the affair in Miletos, as well as a very detailed summary of the identity of Ptolemaios the Son (or otherwise Nios), see Bennett (2001-2010), s.v. *Ptolemy Nios*.
[261] Polyb. 2.71.3.

was a more urgent matter, precisely because the compliance demanded by the new authority was not as intuitive as the allegiance that the Argead clan commanded over the Makedones. Against this background, the Ptolemaic rulers had to make an extra effort to push their ideological agenda through the manipulation of the diffused power techniques discussed in the previous section. As an agglomeration of people, the dynastic organisation of the Argead clan was a chaotic affair where personal relations mattered more than orderly notions of hierarchy. Any and all members of the Argead dynasty, it seems, could contend for the throne. Precisely because his dynasty did not command the intuitive compliance of its subjects, Ptolemaios I came up with a brilliant plan to institutionalise his rule. His experience of dynastic strife back home dictated that a change, which would involve the conditioning of all parties concerned towards the legitimate authority of the new ruler, needed to be made. The system of co-regency was aimed and succeeded at minimising dynastic friction and quenching the aspirations of contenders before they had a chance to mature. In that, the Ptolemaic system of dynastic organisation was an improvement to its Argead predecessor.

When Ptolemaios IV succeeded his father, he did so without undergoing the experience of the co-regency. This was perhaps one of the reasons that led to the so-called purge of 221 BCE. The eldest of possibly four brothers, Ptolemaios IV felt that his position was not secure enough at the moment of his accession and sure enough he reverted to practices that to all appearances matched the tactics employed by the Argeadai in order to gain dynastic supremacy. One only needs to refer to Platon's account of Archelaos' ascent to the Makedonian throne through the murder of his uncle Alketas, his cousin Alketas' son Alexandros, and his seven-year old half-brother, who he pushed down a well and then lied to his mother that he fell while chasing a goose.[262] Ptolemaios IV had his younger brother, Magas, scolded in his own bath for being popular with the army, while his other brothers, Alexandros and one whose name has been reconstructed as 'Lysimachos,' disappear from the records shortly after the time of Ptolemaios IV's accession in 222 BCE.[263] The new king, through his minister Sosibios, also removed his own mother, Berenike II and his uncle Lysimachos from the scene.[264] However, when the time came for him to hand down his political

[262] Pl. *Gorg*. 471a-c.
[263] Polyb.15.25.2, Ps-Plout. *Proverb. Alexandr.* 13, Plout. *Cleom*. 33. For Lysimachos, see Bennett (2001-2010), s.v. *?Lysimachus*.
[264] Polyb. 15.25.2, Zenobios 3.94.

power, he opted to co-rule with his only son, Ptolemaios V, from the time of his birth.[265] The latter reached adulthood uncontested, surviving four different regents.[266]

ROYAL POLYGAMY

The other most defining structure of the intensive organization of dynastic power in the Makedonian monarchy was the formal association of its rulers with more than one woman. Ploutarchos informs us that making "*many marriages*" was "*not prohibited, but customary for the kings of Makedonia from Philippos and Alexandros.*"[267] In fact, the 'custom', as Ploutarchos calls it, extends backwards well beyond the reign of Philippos II. Indeed, in the Argead dynasty every king who managed to stay on the throne long enough to incite interest in our sources is associated with more than one wife, or in less well-documented occasions, is credited with offspring from multiple unions.[268] Perdikkas II is the first Argead ruler for whom the actual names of two of his wives (there may or may not have been more) as well as their respective offspring have survived. He was associated with one Simiche and a Kleopatra.[269] Similarly, a passage from Aristoteles' *Politics* reveals that Archelaos, Perdikkas II's heir by Simiche, made a conscious effort to prevent dynastic quarrelling between the children produced from his different unions.[270] Unfortunately, information relating to the period following his reign is lacunose. The name of only one of his wives has survived (Kleopatra), while for his successors evidence for their marital activity is even more

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[265] *P. Gurob* 25 mentions for the first time Ptolemaios V, as Ptolemaios the son, in 209 BCE. For the accession date of Ptolemaios the V, see the Rosetta Stone, *OGIS* 90.

[266] Sosibios and Agathokles, Tlepolemos and lastly Aristomenes. For the details, see Bennett (2001-2010), s.v. *Ptolemy V.*

[267] Plout. *Comp. Dem. Ant.* 4.1: "*Ἔτι Δημήτριος μέν, οὐ κεκωλυμένον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονὸς ἐν ἔθει τοῖς Μακεδόνων βασιλεῦσιν, ἐγάμει γάμους πλείονας…*"

[268] For the first five Argead rulers we know nothing apart from their names as preserved in Hdt. 8.139. See also the discussion in Ogden (1999), pp. 5-7.

[269] For Simiche: Cl. Ael. *VH* 12.43. She was the mother of Archelaos. For Kleopatra: Pl. *Gorg.* 471a-d. Kleopatra's son was murdered by Archelaos. There is considerable confusion regarding the identity of that son. A scholiast to Ailios Aristeides (*Rhet.* 55, 3 & *Tett.* 120, 2) mentions that his name was either Alketas or Meropos, interpreted by Ogden (1999) as a manuscript mistake for Airopos, p. 8. *Contra* Carney (2000), who believes that Kleopatra's son was not Airopos, p. 250. Her stipulation is important in that she ascribes a third yet unnanmed wife to Perdikkas II as his mother. She seems ignorant of the detail imparted by the Scholiast, but most importantly she does not explain the reasons for her interpretation. What is more, there is no firm evidence regarding the Argead connections of the Airopos she explicitly ascribes as a son of Perdikkas II, later to rule shortly (398-395 BCE) as the regent of the youngster Orestes, (399-398 BCE). See also Diod. 14.37.6.

[270] Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1311b.

remarkably limited.[271] The dynastic strife that ensued after Archelaos' death led to the exhaustion of Perdikkas II's line.[272] After a quick succession of short-lived reigns, Amyntas III rose to the throne and for him the sources have been meticulous enough to record two of his marriages, to Eurydike and Gygaia. There is general disagreement as to which marriage preceded the other, but it is a fact that for some reason, it was Eurydike and her progeny that took precedence over Gygaia and her children in the dynastic race for succession.[273]

The same principle of multiple marriages applies to the majority of Makedonian kings of the early Hellenistic period, the Ptolemaioi of Egypt included.[274] In making the comment that opened this section Ploutarchos was seeking to explain the numerous marriages of Demetrios Poliorketes, the Antigonid King notorious for his fondness of women.[275] Marrying at least six, he was by far the most frequently wed Hellenistic King, closely rivalling his Argead predecessor Philippos II and his seven recorded marriages.[276] In their lavish number of marriages, however, both of them form the exception rather than the norm as far as Makedonian matrimonial practices were concerned. However, although the rest of the Argead and Hellenistic Makedonian Kings are on the whole known to have made fewer marriages, it is still more often than not the case that they were indeed associated with more than one wives. Lysimachos of Thrake and Ptolemaios I of Egypt hold second place with four recorded marriages each.[277] Alexandros III himself is attested to have concluded

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[271] The ruling dates for Orestes are 399-398 BCE. He was succeeded by his regent and murderer Airopos II, who ruled between 398-395 BCE. He was replaced by Amyntas II (395-394 BCE), followed by Pausanias (394-393 BCE), who was assassinated by Amyntas III on the year of his accession.

[272] Cl. Ael. *VH* 8.9.

[273] See above. Carney (2000), pp. 46-49 and Greenwalt (2010), p. 286 believe that Gygaea preceded Eurydike, pp. 46-49. Ogden (1999) argues that the extant evidence does not allow for a clear understanding of which wife was married first, p. 11.

[274] See Ogden's (1999) extremely helpful and neat groupings of Makedonian rulers and their associations. For the Argead dynasty, see pp. 3-51. For the Ptolemaic dynasty, see pp. 67-81.

[275] Ploutarchos preserves an anecdote, shocking for Athenian religious sensitivities, that Demetrios, while in Athens, filled up the rear quarters of the Parthenon with courtesans, (these quarters were given to him as lodgings by the Athenians themselves). Plout. *Dem.* 23-24.

[276] The marriages of Demetrios Poliorketes: Phila, an unnamed woman from Illyria, Ptolemais, Deidameia, Eurydike (Plout. *Dem.* 53) and Lanassa (Plout. *Pyrr.* 10). Ogden (1999) lists two more possible matches, which raise the total to eight, p.177. However, it is less than clear from the evidence that Demetrios was actually married to them. For Lamia, see Plout. *Dem.* 24, 27, Ath. *Deipn.* 13.577c. For Demo, see Plout. *Dem.* 24, 27, Ath. *Deipn.* 13.578a-b. Despite Ogden's convictions both were in all probability mere courtesans. For Philippos II, seeAth. *Deipn.* 13.557b-e.

[277] Lysimachos was married to Nikaia, (Strab. 12.4.7), Amastris, (Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F4.9, Diod. 20.109), an unnamed Odrysian woman, (Paus. 1.10.4-5) and Arsinoe II, (Plout. *Dem.* 31, Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F4.9).

three.[278] An interesting deviation from Ploutarchos' comment is that some of the Hellenistic rulers, like Kassandros, Antigonos I Monophthalmos and Ptolemaios III Euergetes, are known to have married only once.[279] Put in numbers, on average, the marriages for each monarch amounted to more than two.[280] Our sources, therefore, confirm the tendency of the Makedonian rulers, both in the Argead and the Ptolemaic period, to make "*many marriages*" in a very concrete way.

It is only in recent years that it has become the orthodoxy among ancient historians to interpret the matrimonial arrangements of the Makedonian kings by making use of the concept of Makedonian royal polygamy.[281] This concept denotes the *concurrent* recognized marriages of monarchs to multiple wives. As an approach, it has been thoroughly and convincingly argued and it is the author's contention that it has lain to rest any serious consideration of alternative interpretations.[282] Nevertheless, until this position gained ground in the last couple of decades, royal polygamy had been very influentially resisted by a host of prominent scholars.[283] The theory they

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[278] He married Roxanne, daughter of a Bactrian nobleman, in 327 BCE (Plout. *Alex.* 47, *Mor.* 332e, 338d, Diod. 18.3.3, Curt. 8.4, Arr. *Anab.* 4.19, 4.20, Just. 12.15, 13.2) and Stateira, eldest daughter of Darios III and Parysatis, the youngest daughter of Artaxerxes Ochos, the predecessor of Darios III, at the mass weddings at Susa in 324 BCE (for Stateira see Arr. *Anab.* 4.4, Diod. 17.107.6, Plout. *Alex.* 70, Just. 12.10, for Parysatis see Arr, *Anab.* 7.4, Aristob. *FGrHist* 139, F 52). His association to Barsine is the object of much debate as there is no extant reference to a marriage between the two. Cf. Brosius who believes that Alexandros married Barsine. Nevertheless, the evidence she provides –i.e. Plout. *Alex.* 21- does not support her claim. However, the employment of the name Herakles for their son, with all its connotations for Alexandros himself as the emulator of the hero and for the Argead dynasty itself, tracing its ancestry back to him, could suggest a more formal association than a mere one of ruler and concubine. Chronologically as well the relationship seems to have been more than occasional having lasted for a period of at least four years. According to Diodoros, Herakles was born around 327 BCE (Diod. 20.20.1), or even as late as 324 BCE, as Justinus suggests (Just. 15.2), while Barsine became the captive of Alexandros around 332/1 BCE, (Plout. *Alex.* 21, *Eum.* 1). Nevertheless, when compared to the detail with which Alexandros' aforementioned associations are specifically designated as marriages one has to accept the sources' inclination to regard it as an affair.

[279] Kassandros to Thessalonike (Just. 14.6.13, Diod. 19.52.1-2), Antigonos I Monophthalmos to Stratonike (Plout. *Dem.* 2) and Ptolemaios III Euergetes to Berenike II of Kyrene (Just. 26.3.2-8).

[280] Out of 42 monarchs in the Argead, (beginning with Alexandros I), Ptolemaic, Seleukid and Antigonid Kingdoms (including the line of Kassandros and the single generation dynasty of Lysimachos) we know of roughly 90 concluded marriages. This would amount to approximately 2,2 wives for each of them. There is of course the caveat that there are many for which we simply do not have a clue. This calculation is based on Ogden's 1999 research.

[281] Greenwalt (1989), Ogden (1999) and Carney (2000) are among the most fervent proponents for Makedonian royal polygamy. Macurdy (1932) is one of the earliest scholars to have also conceded that polygamy was "*an old Macedonian custom*", p. 106. Greenwalt (1989) is ambivalent about the polygamous arrangement of the Hellenistic kigs. Nevertheless, he concedes polygamy to Lysimachos, Demetrios I and Ptolemaios I, p. 43. On the contrary, Ogden (1999) claims that "*Polygamy is in fact clearly demonstrable in many of the* […] *Hellenistic families*", p. xv. See also his views on what he calls the monogamy fallacy, pp. xiv-xvii.

[282] Especially by Ogden (1999).

[283] I.e. Beloch (1912-1927), esp. III, 2, pp. 68-71, 79, Berve (1926), see under the names of particular wives, Seibert (1967), p. 4, Hamilton (1969), p. 24, Green (1974), p. 515, n. 55, (1990), pp. 20, 24. Berve and Macurdy (1932), p. 25 conceded polygamy only to Philippos II.

proposed consisted of the practice of royal serial monogamy. This entails the repudiation each time of the former wife in favour of the new, or the conflation of wives with concubines. The most influential proponent of the theory of serial monogamy was Beloch, whose strong conviction on the matter led him to the reorganization of Satyros' list of Philippos II's marriages. His endeavour to accommodate only one wife (*Gemahlin*) at any given time in the court of Philippos II, while the rest were set apart as courtesans (*Nebenfrauen*), has by now become notorious for the inverse relationship between its widespread influence and its arbitrary methodology.[284] Christian biases coupled with an embedded perception of monogamy as the norm for human sexual relations are thought to serve as indications why scholarship was originally averted from considering polygamy as an explanation for the formal association of more than one wife with a given king.[285]

Adherence to a concept of serial monogamy, however, creates more problems than it solves. To start with, it cannot be supported by the extant evidence. The list of Philippos II's wives preserved through Satyros does not leave room to doubt the concurrency of the king's marriages. Apart from the fact that some of the nuptials appear to have taken place roughly at the same time, leaving little time for any process of repudiation, (Nikesipolis and Philinna, both from Thessalia, were married to Philippos in 358/7 BCE as part of his effort to win over the Thessalians), the vocabulary used by Satyros clearly indicates that additional wives were brought into the household *besides* (*ἐπεισήγαγεν*) the already existing ones.[286] In the instances where repudiation of earlier wives for the sake of new ones has been proposed the arguments rest on shaky grounds. Justinus is responsible for a tradition that calls for the repudiation of Olympias by Philippos II in favour of Kleopatra.[287] Yet, it was her son who was groomed for and finally inherited the throne.[288] In Ptolemaic Egypt, it has been argued that the first wife of Ptolemaios II, Arsinoe I, was possibly repudiated. The story is that following the arrival of Arsinoe II in Egypt Arsinoe I was allegedly

[284] See for instance how the marriage to Phila is placed before that of Audata the Illyrian and the latter only becomes a *Gemahlin* after Phila's death, Beloch (1912-1927), vol. III, 2, pp. 68-70. *Contra* Tronson (1984), pp. 116-117, with bibliography on scholars who, partially or holistically, accepted Beloch's arguments, n. 7 and 10. See also Ogden (1999), p. xvi.
[285] See Heckel (2001). On monogamy and ancient empires see the very interesting study of Scheidel (2001b).
[286] Satyros apud. Ath. *Deipn.* 557b-e.
[287] Just. 9.7.1-2. Carney (2006), considers the possibility of a repudiation highly unlikely, p. 44.
[288] Corradi (1929), p. 304. Against this view, see further Plout. *Mor.* 70b & 179c.

found guilty of a conspiracy and sent in exile to Koptos, in Southern Egypt.[289] Nevertheless, her exile does not constitute proof that Ptolemaios II repudiated her, as some scholars have suggested, all the more so if one takes into account that she alone bore him heirs.[290] In support of this, comes an inscription from Koptos, considered to be referring to Arsinoe I, which names her "*the chief royal wife of the king*."[291] In addition to that, polygamy, although not the norm, was nevertheless not unknown in the rest of the Classical world. The tyrants of Sicily were practicing polygamists. Dionysios I of Syrakousai is reported to have married Aristomache of Syrakousai and Doris of Lokroi on the same day in 397 BCE.[292] For the early Hellenistic period, Ploutarchos is quite clear on more than one occasion that a multiplicity of wives was kept concurrently. He stated that Demetrios Poliorketes, did just as Lysimachos and Ptolemaios, and held all his wives *in honour* (*διὰ τιμῆς*).[293] He also hinted at the basis upon which the Makedonian polygamous households were organised: favouritism. When Pyrros of Epeiros was at the court of Ptolemaios I as a voluntary hostage, he made sure to pay special attentions to Berenike, "*seeing that she had the greatest influence and was foremost in virtue and intellect of all the wives of Ptolemaios*," (*μέγιστον δυναμένην καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει τῶν Πτολεμαίου γυναικῶν*).[294] Significantly, since the sources show no explicit objection to it, the practice of polygamy in both the Argead and Ptolemaic dynasties was, to say the least, an accepted reality.[295]

Further, serial monogamy implies a hierarchical dynastic organisation with strong implications for legitimacy. If only one wife was the formal consort of the king at any given time then it follows that her status would be elevated above all other liaisons and that her children would be the only *legitimate* successors to the kingship. How is one then expected to interpret the dynastic situation as Ploutarchos describes it? "…*almost all the* […] [Hellenistic] *lines* [with the exception of the Antigonid] *afford many examples of men who killed their sons, and of many who killed their mothers and wives; and as*

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[289] Schol. Theok. 17.129.
[290] Beloch (1924-1927), IV, Macurdy (1932), p. 110. Hatzopoulos (1986) & Hammond (1989), p. 153 have both related that begetting heirs was one of the primary functions of royal women.
[291] Petrie W.M.F. *Koptos*, 1896, Plate XX. Cited in Macurdy (1932), pp. 110-111 & Ogden (1999), p. 74. It is interesting to note here that her children were adopted posthumously by Arsinoe II who died barren, (Schol. Theok. 17.128). This could imply that later in her life at Koptos Arsinoe I lost her status of chief wife.
[292] Plout. *Dion* 3.1-4.
[293] Plout. *Comparatio Demetrii et Antonii* 4.1-2.
[294] Plout. *Pyrr.* 4.5-7.
[295] Greenwalt (1989), p. 22. For him, polygamy "*should be accepted as an Argead institution*", p. 29. See also Carney (2000), pp. 23-27.

for men killing their brothers, just as geometricians assume their postulates, so this crime came to be a common and recognised postulate in the plans of princes to secure their own safety."[296] A similar situation prevailed in Argead Makedonia. Several examples of intense brutality targeted at competing members of the Argead clan have already been cited above in reference to the 'anything goes' atmosphere of Argead dynastic succession. This blatantly suggests that there was no formalised dynastic hierarchy in place, which gave precedence to particular sons of particular wives. Given the inability of humans to restrain the cultivation of preferences and subdue their personal predilections for the sake of fairness, the existence of favourite wives and sons, already discussed above, constitutes a valid hypothesis for the formation of hierarchies in a royal polygamous household. If a form of stricter dynastic organisation ever existed, in however rudimentary a form, it seems that it was largely disrespected, especially when the central authority was not strong enough, i.e. when the designated successor was under age, or the Kingdom in general disarray from external threats or internal struggle.[297] All Argead contenders, apparently, considered themselves justified in thinking that they held and could claim equal rights to the throne.

Finally, the practice of royal polygamy raises questions over notions of illegitimacy, which were as blurred as notions of legitimacy. The extreme lengths to which Archelaos went in order to eradicate his opposition (he cut the throats of his paternal uncle, along with his cousin and drowned his young half-brother supposedly with his own hands) have been attributed to his contested ancestry. Allegedly, he was the bastard (*νόθος*) son of Perdikkas II and a slave-girl, Simiche.[298] Equally, Arridaios was accused, by his own half-brother Alexandros III, of being the illegitimate son of Philippos II and a dancing girl from Larissa.[299] Tronson, however, has successfully demonstrated that there is no reason to doubt the legitimacy of her marriage to Philippos II.[300] It has been argued, rightly, that allegations of illegitimacy in Argead Makedonia were a malicious propagandist tactic used to undermine the dynastic claims of otherwise rightful heirs to the Makedonian throne.[301] Such a view can be supported by the fact that in most cases, the sources are quite clear in delineating

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[296] Plout. *Dem*. 3.4.
[297] See for instance events in the transition period between the death of Archelaos and the accession of Amyntas III.
[298] Pl. *Gorg*. 471a-c, Cl. Ael. VH 12.43, Schol. Aristeides 45.55, 46.120. See Ogden (1999), pp. 7-8.
[299] Plout. *Alex*. 10, 77.5, Ath. *Deipn*. 13.578a, Just. 9.8.2, 13.2.11.
[300] See Tronson (1984), pp. 121-122. For literature on the debate see Tronson (1984), p. 121, n. 36 and Prestianni-Giallombardo (1976-1977), p. 85, n. 8.
[301] See Ogden (1999).

between proper concubines and wives. An example is Ptolemaios II with his two marriages and his eight recorded mistresses.[302] Interestingly, illegitimacy claims had, more often than not, little to do with the perceived validity of the marriage itself. Rather, accusations of bastardy were connected principally with purity of blood. To be 100% Makedonian was probably the ideal pedigree for the successor to the Argead throne. The Epirote ancestry of Olympias was used by Attalos, the uncle of Philippos II's new and all-Makedonian bride, to discredit Alexandros III as a non-legitimate heir (*γνήσιον…διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας*).[303] In a similar manner, the emphasis that sources place on Eurydike's Illyrian descent might suggest that similar accusations of ethnic impurity dogged Philippos II.[304] Perhaps that was the same reason why Ptolemaios I never promoted his children from Thais, his Athenian wife and former courtesan, for the throne, despite the fact that they were his first-borns.[305]

In conjunction with the ill-defined rules of succession discussed in the previous section the implications of royal polygamy for the extent of the political/dynastic power of the ruler are severely limiting. A polygamous environment fosters competition. Fluidity in the hierarchy of partnerships exacerbates the situation massively, as women and their offspring need to vie constantly for the king's preference. Surely competition manifested itself in everyday life, but ultimately the primary area of contestation was succession. In relation to one polygamous king, Ploutarchos' sharp comment that "*…the domestic strife that resulted from Philippos' various marriages and love-affairs caused the quarrels which took place in the women's apartments to infect the whole kingdom*…," sounds intensely realistic.[306] In such an eruptive environment the king's regulation of the social relations that formed between himself, his consorts and his progeny were crucial for the preservation of dynastic and political stability. Despite the precarious balance of dynastic power, the politically disruptive practice of polygamy was carried over unaltered as a prototype for dynastic organisation from Argead Makedonia to the Ptolemaic monarchy. What is deemed to be the most defining reason for the

[302] Ptolemaios II had taken as wives Arsinoe I (Paus. 1.7.3, Schol. Theok. 17.128) and Arsinoe II (Paus. 1.7.1). For his mistresses, see Ath. *Deipn.* 13.576e-f. See also the case of Thais. During the campaigns of Alexandros III, she is clearly demarcated as a courtesan, Diod. 17.72. She then goes on to become the wife of Ptolemaios I, Ath. Deipn. 13.576e. For concerns raised over the legitimacy of their children, see references in Ogden (1999), p. 69.
[303] Plout. *Alex*. 9.7-8.
[304] See Ogden (1999), pp. 12-13.
[305] Ath. *Deipn*. 13.576e.
[306] Plout. *Alex.* 9.

preservation of royal polygamy, namely its use as a diplomatic foreign policy tool, will be explored in the following section. It will be argued that the objectives behind the instantiation of polygamy in the Hellenistic period remained the same from the passing of the Argead to the Ptolemaic dynasties. It is only in the reign of Ptolemaios II that royal sibling marriage introduces a significant change in the marital practices of the Makedonian kings.

MARRIAGE AS POLITICAL ALLIANCE

Marriage in Classical Makedonia was used as a way of concluding political alliances. Satyros the Peripatetic is explicit in his account of Philippos II's list of marriages that these took place in view of strengthening the Kingdom.[307] Philippos II, with his seven known marriages may represent an anomaly as regards the number of women a Makedonian monarch would normally marry, but his situation must be seen as reflecting a kingdom under expansion. Instances of diplomatic marriages are known to us since the close of the sixth century BCE when Alexandros I married his sister Gygaia to the Persian commander Bubares.[308] Herodotos related that this marriage was part of Alexandros' Persian appeasement plan for the murder of their embassy in his father's court.[309] Following from that, the available evidence is almost constant in sketching the marriages of Makedonian monarchs as a way of maintaining the balance of power, or of expanding spheres of influence. Archelaos married his elder daughter to the King of Elimeia in order to neutralize him and gain a freer hand in his battle against the Lynkestians and the Illyrians.[310] The marriage of Amyntas III to Eurydike, the daughter of an Illyrian chieftain, Sirras, which took place at a time when the Makedonian/Illyrian borders were unstable, also conforms to this pattern.[311] The marriages of the Ptolemaic kings seem to have addressed the exact same political questions of balance of power, expansion, as well as a much more pronounced need for legitimacy.

Ideological legitimation in the era of the Successors necessitated a connection with Alexandros III himself or with the Argead dynasty. This could be achieved

[307] Ath. *Deipn.* 13.557b-e.
[308] Hdt. 5.21.
[309] Hdt. 5.21.
[310] Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1311b
[311] See Borza (1992), p. 191.

through propaganda, as we have seen above, but also through marriage. Ptolemaios I made use of both techniques. On the one hand, he promoted his dynasty's genealogical links with the Argead past and with Alexandros in particular, but also attempted in effect to continue Alexandros' bloodline by marrying his only full-sister Kleopatra.[312] He was not the only one to recognise the political merits of such a union. Diodoros mentions that almost all of the Successors, and various other high officials, at one time or another entertained the idea of marrying themselves to Kleopatra.[313] These plans were quelled by the murder of Kleopatra at the court of Antigonos Monophthalmos, but other available brides served equally advantageous political goals. At a time of military alignments, Ptolemaios I chose to marry the daughter of Antipatros, Eurydike, in order to cement the decision at Triparadeisos to join forces against Perdikkas.[314] Echoing Philippos II's policy who "*αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐγάμει*" Ptolemaic foreign policy was often sealed with a diplomatic marriage. This did not necessarily involve the ruler as the groom. Female members of the royal dynasty were frequently given off to prominent individuals of other political units.[315] Ptolemaios I is known to have married no less than four of his daughters to rulers of Successor kingdoms ranging from Epeiros, to Makedonia, to Thrake.[316] Continuing the tradition of royal diplomatic marriages, his son, Ptolemaios II, married the daughter of Lysimachos of Thrake, Arsinoe I, around the time when he assumed the position of co-regent with his father.[317] His later marriage to Arsinoe II will be discussed below. After almost three centuries of polygamous practice, Ptolemaios III Euergetes I is the first recorded king, in both the Argead and the Ptolemaic dynasties, to have taken only one wife. Yet, the sources stress the extreme diplomatic importance

[312] He stole Alexandros' body and brought it to Egypt, Diod. 18.28.3 and propagated his descent from Philippos II by circulating rumours that he was his illegitimate son, Curt. 9.8.22, Paus. 1.6.2. Further evidence of his propaganda to establish a valid Argive descent comes from a fragment of Satyros, which traces the patrilinear descent of Ptolemaios' mother, Arsinoe, all the way back to Herakles, *FGrHist* 631 F 1. See above. For the attempted marriage to Kleopatra, see Diod. 20.37.3-6.
[313] Diod. 20.37.4. For an overview of the ancient sources and a biography, see Carney (2000), pp. 123-128.
[314] Paus. 1.6.8.
[315] E.g. the marriage of Stratonike, Perdikkas II's sister and Seuthes, the nephew of the Odrysian King, Sitalkes. Thouc. 2.101.5.
[316] Ptolemais to Demetrios Poliorketes: Plout. *Dem.* 32, Lysandra to Alexandros V of Makedonia (son of Kassandros): Porphyrios, *FGrHist* 260 F 3 §5, Antigone to Pyrros of Epeiros, Plout. *Pyrr.* 4.4, Arsinoe to Lysimachos of Thrake, Paus. 1.10.3.
[317] Schol. Theok. 17.128.

of his marriage with Berenike II of Kyrene, as it involved the re-attachment of the peninsula of Kyrenaike to the Ptolemaic Kingdom.[318]

Dynastic intermarriage between members of ruling families was the norm for consolidating diplomatic exchange in the Classical period, not just in Makedonia, but in most political units under the rule of one person, be they kings or tyrants. In Argead Makedonia it was practiced with increased intensity during periods of political and military expansion as a way of securing the compliance of key players. Political and military alliances were also sealed through treaties, but these usually involved partners from different political systems, e.g. city-states.[319] The Hellenistic world inherited this familial approach to the conduct of diplomacy. As the key players were now in their majority monarchies, dynastic intermarriage, in spite of its usually short-lived benefits, carried the day as a diplomatic tool. It was mostly in the face of the Roman *Res Publica* and the city-states of Asia Minor and Old Hellas that the Hellenistic kings would make use of written contractual agreements.

Sibling Marriage

Special reference should be made here to the marriage of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos to his full sister Arsinoe II. It has been argued that full sibling marriage constituted the answer of Ptolemaios II to the problems of dynastic instability that dogged the organisation of the royal houses both in the Argead and the Hellenistic periods.[320] This marriage had significant repercussions both in regard to the political power of royal females (especially in the later Ptolemaic period, where they played increasingly more formal parts in the exercise of Ptolemaic government), as well as to the subsequent pattern of Ptolemaic dynastic organisation.[321] Interpretations as to the reasons behind the marriage vary considerably. Overestimating the political power of Arsinoe II based on the appearance of her name on the Khremonides Decree,

[318] Just. 26.3.
[319] See for instance the negotiations for the Peace of Philokrates (see Cawkwell, 1978), or the Treaty of the Common Peace signed in Korinthos between Philippos II and the rest of the Hellenes, (*IG* II² 236).
[320] Ogden (1999), p. 67-116.
[321] The strongest evidence for the growing political role of the queen in later Ptolemaic times is the change in the wording of the address of Ptolemaic instructions. From around 136 BCE onwards the singular "*βασιλέως προστάξαντος*" (e.g. *P. Hib.* II 198, lines 141-7, *C. Ord. Ptol.* 27, 29) is replaced by the plural "*βασιλέων προσταξάντων*." The earliest reference for the latter is *BGU* VI.1249. For detailed overviews of the political role of the various Ptolemaic queens following Arsinoe II, see Hazzard (2000), pp. 101-159, Ogden (1999), pp. 80-116, Whitehorn (1994), pp. 80-202.

scholars have attributed the decision to her.[322] The extent of Arsinoe's actual influence though remains highly debated. As a result of perceiving female political visibility as a direct consequence of 'empty-chair' situations, Arsinoe II's political prominence has been frequently attributed to the weakness of Ptolemaios II's personality.[323] Scholars, relying largely on anecdotal evidence, have called him a womanizer and an indolent in constant pursuit of *tryphe*.[324] As the recent critique of Burstein has demonstrated though, these assertions on his character do not lend support to his alleged incapability of efficiently conducting the affairs of state.[325] As a matter of fact, the latest scholarship exhibits signs of a *de profundis* re-appraisal of Ptolemaios II's political, diplomatic and military skills, based on a thorough examination of the available evidence.[326] This re-appraisal discredits earlier appreciations, with all the implications that this entails for the actual political role of Arsinoe II.

Others saw in this marriage Ptolemaios II's attempt to "*construct an effective legitimacy structure for the dynasty*."[327] On the whole, this marriage must have represented a radical break with the traditions both of the Makedonian Kingdom and of the rest of the Hellenic world. Full sibling marriages were outlawed in the Classical world, while there is only one instance in the history of the Argead Makedonian dynasty where a brother-sister marriage is mentioned.[328] Archelaos married his son Amyntas to his younger daughter in order to prevent a dynastic feud between two of his sons.[329]

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[322] E.g. Macurdy (1932), p. 124. The Khremonides Decree, *IG* II^2 687.
[323] Macurdy (1932), pp. 118, 120, Longega (1968), pp. 72-74.
[324] For the references on the ancient sources, see Burstein (1982), p. 205, n. 44.
[325] Burstein (1982), p. 205-212 with references. This critique, targeted against the consensus on the degree of Arsinoe's political power, is an excellent example of a corrective approach to modern scholarship and has effectively flagged the danger of drawing conclusions out of meagre and/or controversial sources. See also Carney (1987b), p. 425.
[326] On the surviving traditions regarding Ptolemaios II see esp. Hazzard (2000), pp. 36-42, 78 with references. On his military prowess and his image as the 'cultured conqueror,' see Samuel (1993), pp. 183-185.
[327] Ogden (1999), p. 75.
[328] For full sibling marriage in the Hellenic world, see Pomeroy (1984), p. 16 with references. Familial intermarriage, especially between siblings, was not practiced in the Roman world either, see Smith (2006), pp. 30-32. As regards sibling marriage in Argead Makedonia, scholars have argued for another case, that of Ptolemaios of Aloros with Eurynoe. Diodoros put him down as the son of Amyntas III and the brother of Alexandros II on two separate occasions. However, he is nowhere recorded to have been married to Eurynoe, Amyntas III's only known daughter. Regardless, scholars have made the assumption that Diodoros actually means 'brother-in-law' when he writes 'brother' and the only way for this to work out is if Ptolemaios of Aloros was married to Euryne. This is actually stretching the evidence. For the assumption, see Ogden (1999), pp. 14-15, Buraselis (2008), p. 292, relying on Ogden. See also Carney (2000), pp. 39-40. The references are in Diod. 15.71.1, 15.77, Marsyas of Pella *apud* Ath. *Deipn.* 14.629d.
[329] Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1311b.

In all probability, this marriage was between half-brother and sister and could have served a direct dynastic goal through diplomatic means, i.e. the confirmation of Amyntas' preferred status as a successor. Given the rarity of full sibling unions, then surely, if that were the case, Aristoteles would not have failed to comment on it. Instead, his description is quite sober and he refrains from passing any judgment. Others, such as the court poet Sotades, were not at all subtle in their criticism of the marriage between Ptolemaios II and Arsinoe.[330] News of it must have been received as a shock by Hellenes everywhere, and it is a matter of debate how far Philadelphos would have afforded to off-put his Makedonian and Hellenic subjects.[331] It is the contention of the author that he need not have gone to such lengths in order to initiate a clearer pattern of succession, especially when his own line of succession was neatly organized.[332] He only had children from Arsinoe I. If he wanted to avoid what Ogden calls "*amphimetric strife*" he need not remarry in the first place. In addition, Seibert argues with some conviction that if indeed he had a programmatic plan to institute sister marriage in the Ptolemaic Kingdom then he could as well have thought of a consequent evolution for the practice. i.e. to have married his own children together; Berenike Phernophoros with Ptolemaios III.[333] She was married off in a diplomatic rapprochement with the Seleukid kingdom but that does not change the fact that if Ptolemaios II was that intent on establishing dynastic continuity through purity of blood he could have spared her from Antiochos II Theos and given her to his son.[334]

Instead, there might be a kernel of truth in the ancient sources that attributed vehemently the practice to influence from Egypt.[335] Or, rather, more rightly, what the Ptolemaioi *perceived* as being customary in Pharaonic Egypt. Carney asserts that, whether intended or not, this was the beginning of the Egyptianisation of the

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330 Sotades of Maroneia, quoted in Plout. *Mor.* 11a and Ath. *Deipn.* 14.620f: "*εἰς οὐχ ὁσίην τρυμαλιὴν τὸ κέντρον ὤθει.*"

331 The argument that full sibling marriage was out of the ordinary and frowned upon can be further supported by the reprimanding comments of Eurypides *Andromache* 173-180 and Platon *Laws* 8.838a-c.

332 Ogden (1999). For his argument and a definition of amphimetric strife see pp. ix-xxxiv.

333 Seibert (1967), p. 84.

334 Macurdy (1932) makes the interesting proposition that she was originally betrothed to Ptolemaios the Son, but this is just an unverifiable conjecture, p. 87.

335 Memnon, *FHG* 3 F 14 on Ptolemaios Keraunos' decision to marry his half-sister Arsinoe: "*Αὐτίκα γοῦν τὴν οἰκείαν μᾶλλον ἐκφαίνων σκαιότητα, Ἀρσινόην μὲν, ὡς πάτριον τοῦτο τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, τὴν ἀδελφὴν γαμεῖ…*" Paus. 1.7,1, on Ptolemaios II's decision to do the same: "*οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεὶς ἔγημεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίοις μέντοι ὧν ἦρχε*". See also Diod. 1.27.1: "*Νομοθετῆσαι δέ φασι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γαμεῖν ἀδελφὰς διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τούτοις τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐπίτευγμα.*"

Ptolemaic monarchy.[336] While it is now generally accepted that full sibling marriages were actually rare in the ruling families of Dynastic Egypt, their frequency and importance might have been overinflated by the regular conflation of the literal and extended meanings of kinship terms in the available sources at the time and in contemporary everyday life, but also by the pervasive presence of Egyptian religious cosmology, where divine brother-sister marriage was a recurrent trait.[337] Leaving infatuation on the side, it might be fair to assume then that the full sibling marriage of Ptolemaios and Arsinoe can be seen as the 'marriage' of certain Makedonian and Egyptian elements. In other words, one could argue that the nascent Makedonian ruler cult found fertile ground alongside the Egyptian tradition of divine kingship, in which royal marriage between full siblings was thought to be a regular phenomenon, and contributed to the development of a new variation for the representation of the Makedonian monarchy.[338] In that variation, the Ptolemaic rulers could manipulate their dynastic relations in order to create a semblance of divine rule, similar to that of Pharaonic Egypt.[339] Such a monarchy could cater for their Egyptian audience, and especially the priestly class, addressing their concerns regarding the uninterrupted continuation of Pharaonic rule.[340] At the same time, the insistence on marrying from Makedonian stock, whether diplomatically or consanguineously, is equally telling of the unsuitability of the alternatives, as of the preference to sustain a dynastic line with strong claims to "purity of blood." It has already been discussed above how belonging to the Argead clan amounted to a solid prerequisite for leadership aspirations. In Ptolemaic Egypt, the dynasty simply did not have the time to branch out to the extent that the Argead had over the centuries. As a result, the pool of suitable candidates was necessarily severely limited and intermarriage, even between brothers and sisters, ensued when there was no pressing need to confirm foreign policy aims through diplomatic marriages. The Successor marriages to non-Makedonians (i.e. Persian noble women) with the exception of Seleukos I Nikator and Apamea, the daughter of the Sogdian nobleman, Spitamenes, and in principle Alexandros III and Roxanne, all

[336] For her views see Carney (1987b).
[337] Middleton (1962), Shaw (1992). Dickey (2004). See the discussion by Buraselis (2008).
[338] See Hammond (2000), p. 142, 150-152 & Carney (2000), pp. 209-225. See Carney (1987b), p. 423, n. 8 for references.
[339] Official royal propaganda stressed the holy matrimony of Zeus and Hera as a template in an obvious attempt to bring the coupling closer to the sensibilities of the Hellenic and Makedonian audience, Theok. *Eid.* 17.131-134.
[340] See Burstein (1991).

proved inconsequential to the continuation of the dynastic line.[341] In Egypt, due to the Persian occupation, there was no significant nobility, other than the priestly class, that could furnish brides that were of dynastic and political importance for the consolidation of the new Ptolemaic state. What is more, unlike Alexandros and Seleukos, the Ptolemaioi seem to have aspired to a Mediterranean oriented state, rather than an amalgamated Egyptian/Makedonian one in the manner of Alexandros III's Hellenic/Persian model. Thus, sibling marriage, with its resolve to view membership in the Ptolemaic clan as a necessary prerequisite for succession, could be viewed as the continuation of Argead dynastic policy by other means.[342]

DYNASTIC ORGANISATION AND ROYAL FEMALES

Apart from demonstrating the precariousness of the balance of power of the period, following the death of Alexandros III, the almost frantic rate the Successors were intermarrying between themselves serves also to direct attention towards the importance of royal women as valued representatives of the dynasty. Even if pragmatically the stability achieved was more often than not short-lived their offer to marriage was meant to guarantee that end. In fact, the complex matrix of royal polygamous liaisons and the resulting multiplicity of offspring/contenders to the throne render royal women an important part of the intensive political power networks of the Makedonian ruler. Their involvement in succession disputes reveals that they could be influential in promoting the interests of their own sons and daughters, and as such they could be seen in partaking in the political life of the state. In times of crisis, their quasi-political, dynastic role was acted upon and one observes women offering themselves up for marriage out of their own volition and on their own account, or resorting to armed conflict to preserve their dynastic interests. Kleopatra, the full sister of Alexandros III, offered herself to Leonnatos and Perdikkas, while Kynnane, the half-Illyrian daughter of Philippos II is attested to have taken up arms in order to secure the marriage of her daughter, Adea Eurydike, to Philippos III

[341] For Apamea, see Arr. *Anab*. 7.4.6. Ptolemaios I had married Artakama, the daughter of Artabazos, in the mass marriages at Susa, but she disappears from the record, Arr. *Anab*. 7.4.4-8, Plout. *Alex*. 70. Tarn's (1929) assertion that Ptolemaios I married an Egyptian princess upon arrival in Egypt does not take the argument beyond conjecture.
[342] Paraphrasing von Clausewitz (1873).

Arridaios.[343] The endeavours of those women demonstrate that it was impossible for a woman of royal status to claim political power for their own sake. Equally, however, the willingness with which the Successors were keen to associate themselves with a woman of royal status exemplifies that the strength of those women lay in their equation with the dynastic line.

Royal women and their position within the monarchy were thus an important structure that framed the dynastic power of the Makedonian monarch, especially when one considers the increasing political visibility that they acquired towards the end of the dynasty. By Kleopatra VII's reign, association with the Queen was what gave legitimacy to the successor. Kaisarion was Kleopatra's son and there is no hint in the sources that his being sired by a non-member of the Ptolemaic clan mattered in the slightest against his succession.[344] Similarly, when Ptolemaios XII Auletes was expelled, the Alexandrians proclaimed his daughter, Berenike IV, queen and engaged in a hunt for a suitable consort. Their quest is described as almost farcical, since Berenike is said to have strangled the first suitor with her own hands, on account of his uncouth manners.[345] To the Alexandrians, Berenike IV was sufficiently equipped, as far as her dynastic status went, to hold power on her own. Overall, while during the reign of the Argeadai, it was normally the patronymic of the potential successor that added to his status, this was no longer of the same importance in the late Ptolemaic period.[346]

It has been argued that the increased political power of the Ptolemaic queens was a direct result of the sibling marriage between Ptolemaios II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II.[347] However, it will be shown here that the active role of royal women in the dynastic and political affairs of the kingdom can be traced back to the Argead Kingdom and the social structures that allowed royal women the liberty to interfere in the political arena, should the circumstances demand it.

The sources reveal the presence of a host of influential women in Argead Makedonia. The reader's attention is arrested by the extraordinary career of Olympias, but she was not the only one. There existed less famous but, in all appearances, similarly active and prominent royal women. The family of Philippos II

[343] Diod. 19.52. For Kleopatra and Leonnatos, see Plout. *Eum.* 3.9. For Kleopatra and Perdikkas, see Diod. 18.23.
[344] For this argument see Ogden (1999), pp. 100-105.
[345] Strab. 17.1.11
[346] For patronymics, see *IG* I^3 89.
[347] See Hazzard (2000), esp. ch. 5.

has to exhibit a number of conspicuous female members, making their way into historical writings through their involvement in dynastic intrigues, such as his mother Eurydike, or through their assertive participation in dynastic conflicts, often armed, such as his daughter Kynnane and his grand-daughter, another Eurydike.[348]

A reading of secondary sources reveals that scholars have picked up on the interest of ancient authors in stories of dynastic conflict and cruelty figuring royal women, leading them to identify, on the one hand, a pattern for devious political involvement in empty-chair situations, and on the other, a template for the expression of female political power in both societies in the face of Olympias. For Macurdy, author of the 75-year-old, and still only, comprehensive study of Hellenistic royal women, Olympias "*was the first of the Macedonian queens to show that thirst for political power combined with unscrupulous and unbounded ambition which marks many of the later women of this extraordinary northern breed.*"[349] Next to Olympias in documented political involvement is her younger contemporary, Adea Eurydike. Wife to the only surviving adult male of the Argead line, Philippos Arridaios, she was Olympias' main rival in her struggle to ensure the viability and succession of her grandson, Alexandros IV. The sources tell us that her life's course was dominated by the pursuit of power politics and dynastic survival, ultimately leading to her forced suicide.[350] Droysen attributes Eurydike's involvement in public affairs partly to the influence of her secretary Asklepiodoros, but mostly to her own ambitious character, which drove her to side step her "*imbecile*" husband and assume the role of decision-maker.[351] Bearing the same resonance in its vocabulary as the above, the only monograph on Arsinoe II Philadelphos is built around the notion that her disposition was that combination of intelligence, ambition and lack of scruples that would allow her ultimately to overshadow her brother-husband and King, Ptolemaios II, and become the true ruler of Egypt.[352] According to another she was "*a typical Hellenistic tigress queen in the formidable tradition of Olympias and Cleopatra.*"[353]

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[348] For a concise biography of Eurydike, see Carney (2000), pp. 40-46. For the biographies of Kynnane and Adea Eurydike, see Carney (2000), pp. 69-70, 129-131 & 132-137.
[349] Macurdy (1932), p. 44.
[350] There are two main accounts on Adea Eurydike's political involvement after her marriage to Philippos Arridaios: Diod. 18.39.1-4, Arr. *FGrHist* 156, F 9.30-33. On her suicide see Diod. 19.11.5-7, Cl. Ael. *VH* 13.36.
[351] Droysen (1993), pp. 140, 231. See also Will (1979-1982), p. 51.
[352] Longega (1968), esp. 127-134. Other historians to share this view are Tarn (1913) pp. 262-263, Bevan (1927), pp. 60-61, Beloch (1912-7), IV: pp. 1, 242, 582.
[353] Huzar (1966), p. 337.

In terms of the political involvement of royal females in the dynastic struggles that arose, it is a well-documented fact, looking back into history of the Argead dynasty, that they tended to become more assertive when there was no strong male authority on the throne. For instance, Eurydike I was a widow when she made diplomatic overtures to the Athenian general Iphikrates, Olympias' son and ruler of Makedonia was away campaigning in Asia and Adea Eurydike was married to a man not "*capax imperii*."[354] However, insofar as the origins of the behaviour of royal women is concerned, these historians observe a strong element of continuity between the assertive actions of Olympias, whom history placed at the command of her own army, within a yard of grasping some degree of real political power in an era of contenders, and Arsinoe II, whom the Egyptian sources name "*nsw-bity*" (Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt), a royal title, at least, suggestive of attained political visibility.[355]

In terms of the role of Olympias as setting the trend for the political assertion of royal women in the Makedonian monarchy, it is an uncontested fact that these emerge from their relative obscurity for the first time during Olympias' time. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the earliest reference we possess of a Makedonian princess dates from the time of Amyntas I or Alexandros I's reign in the late sixth century. It merely refers to the daughter of the king by name (Gygaia) and to her being given off to a diplomatic marriage.[356] Before Olympias, only Philippos II's mother Eurydike is being treated more extensively by the sources herself in relation to dynastic ruses.[357] In spite of that fact though, we must be wary of assigning similarities in the visibility of royal women across time and space to the example of one woman. Instead, one should enquire to what extent was Olympias acting driven by her own tempestuous disposition and in defiance of the confines for the 'permissible' behaviour of royal women set by the society she had grown up in (i.e. Epeiros) and the one she had married into (i.e. Makedonia).

The following section is devoted to the re-examination of the commonly held view of Olympias as the 'trend-setter' for the behaviour of successive Hellenistic royal

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[354] Aisch. 2.29. Carney, (1987a), p. 42.

[355] For Olympias: Just. 14.5, Diod. 19.11.1-3.. See Polyperchon's offer of the role of "*βασιλική προστασία*," Diod. 18.49.4. For an overview of the debate on the meaning and significance of 'prostasia' as a rank, see Carney (1987a), p. 58, n. 61 and Hammond (1985), p. 156. For Olympias and her daughter Kleopatra as exercising *prostasia*, see Hammond (1985), p. 158. For Arsinoe II: Quaegebeur (1978), pp. 258, 262. He supports the idea that this title consists proof that Arsinoe II ruled on an equal basis with her brother-husband. *Contra* Carney (1987b), p. 425-426, n. 14.

[356] Hdt. 5.21. For dating problems see Borza, 1992, p. 103, n. 15.

[357] See the tradition preserved by Just. 7.4-5.

women. In this respect, one needs to approach Olympias both on a micro and a macro level. On the micro level, one needs to take into account the particular circumstances that surrounded the period of her increased political visibility (i.e. starting from the reign of Philippos II and culminating after the death of Alexandros III). The higher degree of Olympias' political exposure during that time did not depend solely on her idiosyncrasy, as writers, both ancient and modern, tend to emphasize, but also, on the unique position she occupied in the Makedonian court as wife to the man who took the city-state world by storm and who was murdered unexpectedly at the height of his power, mother to the conqueror of the Persian Empire, who introduced a queen quite late in his reign in a court far removed from Makedonia and grand-mother to two of the three eligible contenders for the Argead throne at a time of extreme dynastic instability.[358] This was enough material to account for the extensive interest that ancient writers took in her.[359] In this triple capacity, however, her position was rendered inimitable. Therefore, her assertiveness in the extraordinary circumstances that surrounded her life cannot be held accountable for similar behaviours in completely different contexts.[360] On the macro level, one needs to evaluate Olympias' political visibility against the backdrop of the traditions both of her homeland, Epeiros and the kingdom in which she spent more than half her life, Makedonia.

Research on the Epeirotic monarchy and society based on epigraphic material, has demonstrated that women enjoyed a greater degree of freedom and of responsibility than in the *poleis*.[361] Inscriptions of manumission from the theatre of

[358] Herakles, son of Barsine and Alexandros IV, son of Roxanne.

[359] It must be noted that the overt hostility of the overwhelming majority of the extant sources against Olympias could be due to a subsequent alleged propaganda by Kassandros. Kassandros was her major rival in the dynastic conflict for the Argead throne, backing the claim of Philippos Arridaios and his wife, Adea Eurydike. After his victory over Olympias he did much to appear as a loyal royalist (see Will, 1979-1982, pp. 51-52). Further, it is equally important to note that there is no significant extant source telling the story from a Makedonian perspective. Marsyas of Pella, a childhood companion of Alexandros III, wrote a History of Makedonia in ten books, the few fragments of which have been collected in Jacoby's *FGrHist* 135, 136. See also *Souda* s.v. *Μαρσύας*. The other work of 'insider' history, that of Ptolemaios I, exists in fragmentary condition as well, (*FGrHist* 138). Interestingly, Ptolemaios I has no entry in the *Souda*. Our dependence, therefore, is on sources that were written by 'outsiders' looking into the Makedonian society, mostly centuries after the facts. Our major sources on Argead and Ptolemaic history, (Diodoros Sikeliotes, Ploutarchos of Chaironeia, Arrianos of Nikomedeia, Quintus Curtius Rufus, a first century CE Roman and Justinus, a third century CE Roman), though most based on contemporary sources, wrote at least two centuries after the events took place. Of those, Diodoros is the closest in time, writing in the mid-first century BCE. By implication, it rests with the historian to try and decipher the specific biases that a certain author might have over what he is describing.

[360] Unless of course her career served consciously as a role model for future royal women, for which of course we have absolutely no evidence.

[361] See Cabanes (1993), pp. 308-309.

Bouthrotos reveal that they had the right to free their own slaves; therefore the right to own property. In cases, where there would be no adult male immediate relation (i.e. father, brother, or husband), they could function as the head of the family.[362] There is no attestation for the imposition of a male guardian, or *kyrios*, in such cases, like it was prescribed in the city-states.[363] Even though the bulk of our evidence comes from the Hellenistic period we possess some earlier inscriptions, which seem to confirm this type of practice in Epeiros. More specifically, in a citizenship decree from the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona dating from the 370s BCE, a woman, Phinto of Arronos, is placed at the head of the family and is granted the citizenship in their name and the name of her descendants.[364] For Cabanes, the above is evidence of a stronger familial community in Epeiros, with all the implications that this might have on the figure of the wife/mother.[365] It is a fact that Epeiros is an epigraphically much richer region than Makedonia.[366] Nevertheless, epigraphic material from Makedonia *per se* concerning women is beginning to come to the surface and experts assess that their reading is pointing towards similar conclusions.[367]

The liberty of the female to act in the interests of minors is particularly important in the Makedonian context, especially when seen in the light of mother/son configurations, pursuing a common goal, i.e. achieving succession. As such, it presents an interesting context for Olympias' relationship with her children, both Alexandros and Kleopatra, as well as for her determination to defend the interests of her grandson, Alexandros IV. It can also be used to explain Polyperchon's offer of the role of '*βασιλική προστασία*' to Olympias.[368] The exact nature of the office of *προστασία* is elusive to us. Nevertheless, research has demonstrated that it translated to more than mere "*royal dignity*."[369] Hammond juxtaposed to it the use of the word '*προστάτης*' found in Epeirotic inscriptions to allude that it had a concrete meaning and equally

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[362] Cabanes (1980), p. 333.
[363] See Harrison (1971), where he states that "*An Athenian woman* […] *remained under tutelage all her life*", p. 84.
[364] Davies (2000), p. 246, D2 (translated): "*When Neoptolemos, the* (son) *of Alketas was king, to the family of Phinto of Arronos, was given citizenship, to herself and descendants*…"
[365] Cabanes (1980), p. 333.
[366] See Cabanes (1980), p. 336, Archibald (2000), p. 215.
[367] Hatzopoulos (1988), Cabanes (1993), pp. 308-309. The latter speaks of a community of civilization between Makedonia, Epeiros and Southern Illyria. Cf. Aristoteles' own juxtaposition of them, *Pol.* 5.1310b-1311a.
[368] Diod. 18.49.4.
[369] As translated by Geer (1947) in the Loeb edition of Diodoros Bk 18, p. 149.

concrete responsibilities.[370] That the '*προστασία*' in Epeiros, or indeed the representation of the community in state business, was not exclusively prescribed to be exercised by men is illustrated by the fact that the name of Kleopatra of Epeiros, Olympias' daughter and widow of king Alexandros of Epeiros, appears in a list of *theorodokoi* from Argos.[371] She is also the recipient of an embassy from Athens and of shipments of grain from Kyrene.[372] Olympias is recorded to have acted on similar diplomatic and political matters both in Epeiros as well as in Makedonia. She received shipments of grain like Kleopatra, as well as booty from Gaza.[373] She is also responsible for a mini diplomatic episode with Athens caused by her dedication of a bowl to the goddess Hygieia.[374] The circumstances surrounding the offence taken on account of that bowl are unclear but Hypereides informs us that Olympias had the capacity and did send envoys to Athens carrying her charges against the *polis.* It is important to note that there is recorded precedence in Makedonia for the independent political and diplomatic initiative of a royal wife/mother. In one of his speeches Aischines has Eurydike, the mother of Philippos II and widow of the Makedonian King Amyntas III, demanding the diplomatic alliance of the Athenian general, Iphikrates. Her plea, very similar in outlook to Olympias' labours after Alexandros's death, was extended in an effort to preserve the succession rights of her children in the face of pretenders.[375]

In connection to economic activity and the dispensing of property, Makedonian royal women were in a more advantageous position than Athenian women. Where an Athenian woman could not dispose of an amount larger than the equivalent of a bushel of barley, Makedonian women are attested to have been dedicating statues to sanctuaries as early as the beginning of the fourth century.[376] More specifically, a statue base was discovered in Vergina in the early 1980s bearing the inscription ΕΥΡΙΔΙΚΑ|ΣΙΡΡΑ|ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑΙ (Eurydike, daugher of Sirras, to Eukleia). Sirras was the father of Philippos II's mother Eurydike and she appears to

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[370] As used for instance in D2, *supra* n. 97. See also Davies (2000), p. 246, D1, p. 250, D12-14. Note that the king is clearly delineated from the "*προστάτας*." See Hammond (1985). Cf. Thouk. 2.65, 6.89 use of "*προστασία*" to denote political leadership and compare it with Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.10 use of "*προστατεία*" in the context of military leadership.
[371] Davies (2000), p. 248, D5.
[372] Aisch. 3.242. *SEG* IX.2, ll. 6-10.
[373] *SEG* IX.2. Plout. *Alex.* 25.
[374] Hyp. *Ὑπὲρ Εὐξενίππου εἰσαγγελίας ἀπολογία πρὸς Πολύευκτον* 4.19-26.
[375] Aisch. 2.26-29. The succession of her two remaining children, Perdikkas III and Philippos II, was threatened by a dynastic rival, Pausanias, whom Iphikrates ultimately defeated.
[376] Isaios *Πρὸς Ξεναίνετον περὶ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου κλήρου* 10.10.

have dedicated the statue to Eukleia, the goddess of good reputation.[377] Even though we have no evidence of Makedonian royal women, (at least not before the Hellenistic period), managing or disposing of land, as was common in the Persian Empire, religious dedications are an indicator of control over some amount of property.[378] Therefore, Olympias was not an innovator when she decided to make a considerable monetary dedication to Delphi.[379] A similar arrangement applied in Epeiros, where Kleopatra also made gifts of grain to Korinthos.[380]

Bearing the above in mind, Olympias cannot be seen as an isolated phenomenon. She did not break any conventions insofar as she might have stretched them. Her actions can be seen as springing largely from within the bounds of what was socially permissible for a woman of her status in Epeiros and Makedonia, intensified perhaps by the unique circumstances of that turbulent period.[381] The similar actions of Eurydike, mother of Philippos II, Kynnane, Adea Eurydike, Kleopatra and others, suggest that the social structures of the Argead Kingdom, which prescribed a greater degree of domestic and economic independence for women than elsewhere in Hellas, were reflected in the dynastic organization of the monarchy. It was these structures that allowed royal women to assert a certain level of freedom of action in the political sphere, depending on the urgency of the circumstances. In this light, the increasingly pronounced role of royal women in Ptolemaic Egypt can be seen grounded as much on Argead tradition, as on sibling marriage.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the organisation of dynastic power in Argead Makedonia and Ptolemaic Egypt for traces of change and continuity. The 'dynasty' has been examined both as the abstract notion of a hereditary line of rulers, as well as the

[377] Strab. 326c. Andronikos (2004), pp. 49-51.
[378] For Persian royal women holding vast property, see Pl. *Alkib.* I.121c-123d and Brosius (1996), pp. 123-182. See Carney (2000), p. 34.
[379] *Syll.*[3] 252.
[380] Lyk. *Κατὰ Λεωκράτους* 26.
[381] It is interesting to note that despite the fact that Macurdy's views on Olympias have now been re-evaluated by the extensive and thorough publications of Carney (see bibliography) in favour of a multi-factored approach, the image of Olympias as the forerunner for the elevated status of Hellenistic royal women by virtue of her character alone still persists, cf. Mirón-Perez, 2000, p. 37.

actual agglomeration of individuals belonging to a royal house at a given time. In this dual capacity, the 'dynasty' was approached both a source of ideological and political power for the rulers in Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt.

In terms of ideological power, it has been argued that the concept of the dynasty functioned in lieu of a unifying political ideology in early Ptolemaic Egypt as much as it did in Argead Makedonia. Membership to the Argead clan appears to have been the sole legitimating prerequisite of the various contenders for the Argead throne. Following that tradition, until the Ptolemaic dynasty was firmly consolidated in itself and as long as Ptolemaic Egypt was still regarded as the spear-won territory of Alexandros III, the early Ptolemaioi sought to establish an incontrovertible ideological continuity with their Argead predecessors. Complementary to the situational legitimation borne out of personal charisma, military victories or benefactions, as well as the methodical exploitation of Alexandros' image and name, aimed at smoothing out in popular imagination the creases of an irregular transition of power between the conqueror and the nascent Ptolemaic dynasty, the early Ptolemaioi systematically made the effort to present themselves to the Alexandrian population as the scions of the Argead dynasty.

Interestingly, the essential claims of the legitimating rhetoric of the early Ptolemaioi are encapsulated in just a few lines of a recently discovered epigram by the Makedonian poet Poseidippos of Pella, active in the courts of the first two Ptolemaioi: the eagle and lightning of Zeus, both considered good omens for military victories, appeared to the Ptolemaioi in the same way as they had to Alexandros before conquering the Persian Empire. What is most striking to notice here is that instead of calling them Ptolemaioi, the poet addresses them as "Argead kings."[382]

In terms of political power, the most defining structures of dynastic organisation in both Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt have been identified as the patterns of succession and royal polygamy practiced as a diplomatic and foreign policy tool. It has been argued that conflicts over succession were a direct result of the polygamous practices of the Argead kings, bringing too many wives into the household, producing too many offspring that were bound to compete with one another. The confusion was further promoted by the lack of a clear hierarchy between those women and their progeny. There is no evidence to suggest that any one of the

[382] Poseidippos, Oionoskopika *Pap. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309 AB 31 (V 20-22)

royal wives took formal precedence over the rest in the period in question. Claims that Argead royal wives bore the title "Queen" have been rightly discredited for lack of evidence.[383] In the Ptolemaic Kingdom the term came into use along with its male counterpart 'Basileus' after 306 BCE but it still failed to incorporate any notion of a prescribed public and/or political role.[384] An inscription referring to Ptolemaios I's unmarried daughter Philotera as 'Basilissa' subscribes to the view that the term denoted rather a formal dynastic relationship with the 'Basileus' than a public office in the modern sense.[385] The practice of royal polygamy, and in particular the extensive use of diplomatic marriage as a way to cement alliances and extend spheres of influence, continued almost unaltered under the Successors in general and under the first two Ptolemaioi in particular. The latter, nevertheless, attempted to eradicate the side effects of an ill-defined system of succession by instituting the practice of co-regency.

Finally, this chapter has examined the role of royal women in the dynastic organisation of both kingdoms. It has been shown that the increased political visibility of Ptolemaic queens can be partially attributed to the social structures that bound the behaviour of women in Argead Makedonia and which allowed them greater freedom of action and independence in the domestic and economic spheres. However, the nature of the Makedonian marital practices was such that there was no room for prescribed political duties for the various wives. The political initiative they are known to have exercised was always associated with times of great crisis. Normally, their primary responsibility was the bearing and upbringing of children. Instances of public gestures of royal women in the form of dedications were mostly made in a religious context and could have been the equivalent of offerings made by ordinary women, but on a grander scale.[386] Even in the biggest anomaly of the Makedonian marital norms that was Ptolemaios II's marriage to his full sister Arsinoe II, she was never regarded as an equal to the King, at least not in her lifetime. Dynastic honours are not to be confused with actual power holding. The appearance of her name on a public policy document has been perhaps rightly attributed to "*un formule de courtoisie*", especially if one takes into consideration that is was carved four years after her death.[387]

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[383] Macurdy (1932), pp. 8 & 25. *Contra*, Carney (2000), p. 25-26, 225-228.
[384] For a discussion see Carney (2000), pp. 225-228.
[385] *OGIS* 35.
[386] See Carney (2000), pp. 34-35, Pomeroy (1984), pp. 14-15.
[387] The Khremonides Decree, *IG* II² 687. Will (1979-1982), p. 199.

It has also become clear that the real strength of women, which could be used as a lever for political pressure when the circumstances demanded it, as it ultimately had been, was their membership to the dynasty. Actual political power may have escaped the Argead and early Ptolemaic women but dynastic power was something that came with birth or marriage. This is attested most strongly by the role of women in the cementation of political and military alliances. Argeadai and Ptolemaioi alike, not to mention the rest of the Successors, engaged in a frenzied hunt for suitable brides that, apart from the dowry, would bring along to their husband legitimacy and recognition; elements very important in a society where dynastic struggles raged generation after generation, and equally important in a newly instituted kingdom surrounded by pretenders. The degree of dynastic power that women held was confined mostly on the ideological plane and is graphically illustrated in the loyalty it inspired upon the ordinary Makedones. Kynnane may have challenged Antipatros in battle but his army refused to strike back on Philippos II's daughter.[388] The regiment sent by Kassandros to terminate Olympias left her unscathed. Diodoros mentions that they could not lay a hand on the mother of Alexandros.[389]

If the theory on the marriage of Ptolemaios II to his sister proposed above holds truth, even there one can discern the gravitas of Arsinoe's lineage weighing against any other probable bride. Even if nothing else can be proven on the marriage of Ptolemaios with Arsinoe one can at least be confident that in a foreign environment like Egypt, where the most probable course of action would be native intermarriage (Alexandros III paved the way for that) Ptolemaios II chose to lay the foundations of an introvert dynasty whose roots ran deeper into the Argead past than any other.

With the establishment of a firm line of dynastic succession through the principle of co-regency, coupled with the widespread propaganda that the new dynasty had solid ties with the ancestral Argead one, the researcher is presented with a state whose leaders are painfully aware that it is deficient in legitimacy. As such, the colonial circumstances in early Ptolemaic Egypt led to an amplification of the importance of the dynasty as a source both of ideological and political power. All along, however, they were making use of the same structures of dynastic organisation as their predecessors; only tweaking them for efficiency.

[388] Diod. 19.52.
[389] Diod. 19.51.

"The power of any minority is irresistible as against each single individual in the majority, who stands alone before the totality of the organised minority."

Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class* (1939, p. 53)

CHAPTER TWO: COURT POWER

It has been suggested that the rise of a court society around a monarch is linked to his growing monopolisation of two of the most decisive sources of power: revenues and the army.[390] In other words, a court society is the most probable outcome of the strengthening of one man's rule. Far from being a spontaneous creation or the brilliant conception of an individual, the emergence of court society has its roots elsewhere. Historically, it has accompanied the expansion from "a master's rule over his household" to his "domination over other masters."[391] As a social phenomenon it is the product of a gradual process of evolving social power-relationships. These relationships are based on a series of (inter)dependencies that develop between the ruler and his circle of attendants.[392] The need to secure and

[390] Elias (2006), pp. 4, 151. For a fuller discussion of the control of revenues and the army as instruments of power see Elias (2000), pp. 268-277.

[391] What Max Weber calls 'patriarchal' form of rule (1978). Weber (1978) calls the recognised authority of one ruler over others, usually pettier, 'patrimonial', esp. ch. 12. For a reaction against the court as originating from the extended household of the ruler see Herman (1997), p. 202. Herman is right in drawing a distinction between the formation of the Seleukid and Ptolemaic courts and the Antigonid. Nevertheless, he fails to elaborate on the distinction between the colonial/conquest character of the former as opposed to the established traditions of rule that characterised the latter. If he did, his argument would take on a whole new dimension as we would be faced with the emergence of court formation in conditions outside traditional rule.

[392] The work of Max Weber and Norbert Elias is decisive for the understanding of the nature and development of the relationship between a ruler and his following. In his theory of pure types of legitimate authority (legal –which, as the outcome of a legally established *impersonal* order, cannot find its parallel in the Classical and Hellenistic world, traditional and charismatic), Weber (1978, pp. 215-245) describes the forces of tradition and charisma accordingly as the basis upon which rests the legitimacy of the latter two types of authority. In the process, he provides an explication for the obedience exercised by those accepting these types of authority. In the case of traditional authority obedience is owed to the personal loyalty one feels towards the person who occupies a traditionally sanctioned position. In the case of charismatic authority obedience is based on the person's individual trust in the charisma of the leader and of his goal. Elias expands Weber's theory when he examines the transition of the charismatic leader to an established ruler, [what Weber called the 'routinisation' of charismatic authority, (1978), pp. 246-254]. In this process, he argues, the common goal under which the charismatic leader was united with his followers dissolves. The nature of the charismatic leader's authority is no longer one of action but one of conservation. With the loyalty of his followers having dissolved along with the common goal, the established ruler has to find alternate ways of maintaining their cohesion. Exploiting and regulating the differences and the wishes of his, now properly described

safeguard one's position of authority through a loyal power-base, and the innate drive of humans for distinction and the satisfaction of their needs and desires are but a few of the incentives for forming and maintaining ties of interdependence.[393]

The courts of kings are, therefore, to be understood as a barometer for the effectiveness of their rule. A controlled and acquiescent or a corroborative court, depending on one's point of view, can serve to enhance the prestige of the ruler and reduce the risk of his replacement. A dissenting or disgruntled court on the other hand can ultimately cost the monarch his authority. The relationship between the two can be seen to operate under an effective system of checks and balances. A court is, therefore, a requisite component for the preservation of one's rule. As such, it is a source of political power.

It is on these grounds that the structure and networks of court societies will form the focus of this chapter. In keeping with the original question, the aim is to examine the features of royal courts in the royal cities of Makedonia under the Argeadai and in Alexandria under the early Ptolemaioi for traces of change and continuity. The comparison will concentrate on an examination of both the physical and social structures of the court. The physical structures involve the architectural layout of the royal palaces and other areas where the King would have interacted regularly with his courtiers. The purpose is to distil what information the organisation of physical space can offer to the understanding of the hierarchy and functions of court society in Makedonia and Egypt. The social space denotes the human element, namely the people that made up the court in its political sense. These individuals could be referred to as the administrative class of the Kingdoms. The emphasis will lie on their interaction with the ruler from the moment of their selection for membership at court all the way to the interruption of the relationship. Of special interest in examining these interdependencies are the criteria for selection, as well as the basis

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as, court is one such effective way, (2006, pp. 127-157). It is the contention of the author that it can be profitable to envisage the Argead rulers as exercising traditional authority, interrupted by the hybrid traditional-charismatic authority exercised by Alexandros III, followed by the rather situational type of authority exercised by the first generation rulers of the Hellenistic monarchies.

[393] The theory of interdependence in the context of royal courts was first expounded by Norbert Elias in the 1930s. What is most intriguing and useful for our purposes in Elias's work is his coupling of social theory with historiography, which places the study of the unique and unrepeatable events of the past within the remits of recurring patterns of social behaviour. For further analysis see his *Introduction: Sociology and Historiography* in Elias, 2006. Subsequently, his theoretical framework has been used in diverse studies of royal courts ranging from the Hellenistic period (Herman, 1997) to the Portuguese court in the Late Middle Ages, (R. Costa Gomez, 2003, *The Making of a Court: Kings and Nobles in Late Medieval Portugal*, Cambridge University Press). An important recent study incorporating Elias' social theory is Spawforth (2007) on the court of Alexandros III.

upon which ties were maintained and enhanced. Lastly, the organisation of the court society will be examined. This will entail an enquiry into the function and responsibilities of the courtiers and their hierarchy within the court society.

THE COURT AS A SOURCE OF POLITICAL POWER

It has already been outlined in the introduction that the royal court constitutes a source of political power for the ruler. As the centre of governance and decision-making the court becomes the administrative and political hub of the monarchy. As the focal point of diplomatic activity, with foreign ambassadors being received and entertained on a regular basis, it also projected the face of the monarchy to the outside world. In order to begin exploring further this intricate web of the social relations formed around the king in his court and the manner in which they were managed (through the formation of hierarchies, flattery, ceremony and etiquette) it is necessary to distinguish between the different meanings of the terms 'court', 'court society' and 'court structures.'

DEFINING THE COURT

The *OED* defines a sovereign's 'court' as a princely residence, a household, a retinue and a formal assembly, all at the same time.[394] A 'court' can denote, therefore, both a place (i.e. the establishment or surroundings where the sovereign holds his residence and state attended by his retinue) and a group of people (i.e. the body of the sovereign's attendants collectively, or if construed as the ruling power of a state, including the sovereign himself), as well as a function (i.e. the formal assembly held by the sovereign and his attendants in the former's residence for purposes of administration, or the holding of audiences and receptions).[395] In order to function to the advantage of the ruler a court requires a structured internal organisation of people and functions best described by the terms hierarchy, ceremony and etiquette.[396]

[394] *OED*[2] (1989) s.v. *court* n.[1] II, III.
[395] This is also the definition for 'court society' that we will be using in this chapter.
[396] According to Elias (2006) the crystallisation of hierarchies and patterns of ceremony (or etiquette as he calls it) in a court is the characteristic of a firmly established monarchic power, see esp. pp. 78-79, 136-142. For a detailed discussion on the function of etiquette in the court of Louis XIV as an

Finally, there is one other element that has been regularly attached to the description of court societies; the purposeful display of luxury.[397]

THE ANCIENT COURT

Following from this definition, the ancient Hellenes do not seem to have assigned all the multiple meanings of residence, court society and formal assembly to their terms for 'court': *αὐλή* or *τό βασίλειον/τά βασίλεια*. The most common usage of these terms referred to the residence of the ruler. The members of the court society were referred to by their proximity to something else, usually the palace complex, or the ruler himself. This way Polybios, our major source on court life during the period of the reign of Ptolemaios V, designated a person as belonging to the entourage of the king by appending "*περὶ τὰς αὐλάς*,"[398] "*περὶ τὴν αὐλήν*"[399] or, "*ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις*"[400] to names or articles. Similarly, inscriptions commonly referred to court people by their association to a particular king. Hence, the Spartan Demaratos is recorded to have been 'spending time' by King Lysimachos, ("*διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυσιμάχῳ*").[401] Additionally however, we possess the occasional use of the adjective *αὐλικός* in the sense of 'courtier,' or 'of the court'. Deinokrates of Messenia, an ambassador of the Messenians to Rome, is introduced by Polybios as an '*αὐλικός*,' not only by practice but by nature as well.[402] Lastly, as far as the function of the formal assembly is concerned, this was not related linguistically to the words *αὐλή* or *βασίλεια*. Rather, it was described by the term *συνέδριον*. Alexandros III convened a *συνέδριον* of his Friends during the siege of Tyre in 332 BCE to discuss the peace proposals of Dareios.[403] Similarly, Perdikkas, as the one entrusted with the care of Alexandros' royal affairs (*ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς βασιλείας*), held such a council upon the

instrument of power, see Elias (2006), chs. 5-6. Similarly, Asch & Birke (1991) emphasize the appearance of norms and rules of conduct as the catalyst, which transforms a simple formation of a king's followers into a court society, p. 9.

397 Veblen (1994, orig. pub. 1899) ch. 4, coined the term conspicuous consumption to describe the luxury in which court societies indulged. He elaborated on the display of luxury as a social necessity aiming at achieving higher status within the court society. Max Weber (1922) also explained the luxury of court people as a non-superfluous means of social self-assertion, p. 750.

398 Polyb. 5.26.13 referring to the courtiers of Philippos V of Makedonia.

399 Polyb. 5.41.3 referring to the courtiers of Seleukos II Keraunos.

400 Polyb. 5.26.12.

401 *IG* XI, 4: 542, Durrbach 15 (Delos, 300-281 BCE).

402 "*..Δεινοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἦν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν τριβήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐλικὸς καὶ στρατιωτικὸς ἄνθρωπος*," Polyb. 23.5.4.

403 Diod. 17.54.1.

death of Alexandros to divide the task of ruling the king's empire between the generals.[404]

It has been argued that a contemporary Classical and Hellenistic conceptualisation of what constituted a royal court did not exist.[405] The words *αὐλή* and *βασίλειον* in ancient Greek were not interchangeable to denote space, people and function at the same time, as in Medieval and Renaissance courts. Rather, they were reserved to refer to the architectural complex that was the residence of the ruler. In this interpretation there is no implied blurring of the physical and human element, or put in another way, of the spatial and social aspects of the King's primary zone of interaction, his house. Nevertheless, the evidence that we possess does not lend support to such a limited understanding of the ancient court. On the one hand, the term *βασίλειον/-α*, which has been used more consistently to describe the palace of the ruler, also bore the meaning of the 'capital city', demarcating the wider area where the palace was built and from where power was delegated to the four corners of the kingdom.[406] On the other hand, the term *αὐλή* has been used in such a way by ancient authors as to convey a meaning more abstract than the concrete stone walls of an edifice.[407]

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[404] "..*συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων*..", Diod. 18.3.1. Equally Ptolemaios I, Curt. 10.6.15.

[405] Weber G. (1997), p. 31.

[406] See for instance Polyb. 3.15.3: the New Town as the capital city of the Carthaginians in Iberia. Diod. 19.18.1: "*Σοῦσα τὸ βασίλειον*". Strab. 1.2.25: Meroe as the capital of the Aithiopians.

[407] The major sources of information on this period and subject are literary. The most valuable in terms of dates is the account of Diodoros as he provides the only consecutive account for the years 362-301 BCE, covering both the history of Argead Makedonia and the Successor period. Also pertinent are the Alexandros historians, most notably Arrianos, Ploutarchos and Quintus Curtius Rufus. It is unfortunate that a history of court and social affairs under Alexandros' reign composed by Chares of Mytilene, the former's usher, has been lost. Certain fragments have survived though in the *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaios, which constitutes an acceptable source of related anecdotal references. Polybios, our most important source on court life during the period 220-146 BCE, can be used as a point of reference to elucidate aspects of court society that we have little information on. He is important in that his *Histories* transcend the boundaries of annalistic history that was more typical of Diodoros and provide us with a more flexible narrative that revolves around the causes and effects of things. Unfortunately, there is a literary gap where Diodoros' account becomes fragmentary and Polybios' begins. For that period there is a limited supply of information on the organisation of courts and court societies to be gathered from papyri and inscriptions. Fortunately, thanks to its particular climatic and geological conditions, the Kingdom of Ptolemaic Egypt is the most represented of the Hellenistic Kingdoms in these non-literary sources. Despite this chance occurrence, the early years of the Ptolemaic dynasty are still not very well documented, (though infinitely more so than three decades ago when only two certainly dated Hellenic papyri, thirty demotic documents and some six scraps were known for the reign of Ptolemaios I, Turner, 1984, p. 118). To this day, the first ten years of Ptolemaios II's reign are still relatively blank whereas a veritable ocean of documents has been discovered for the years 270 until about 215 BCE. As for inscriptions, the interaction of the early Ptolemaioi with the city-states of the Hellenic world is relatively well documented. However, we have to bear in mind that for all their wealth of detail and the feel of immediacy with the period that they convey, papyrological and epigraphic evidence tend to be rather dry, factual accounts of specific events, frequently, but not always, failing to demonstrate the links between their content and the wider context. Finally, of special importance is the information

Nowhere is this more amply illustrated than in the existence of migratory courts, belonging to the Makedonian Kings of the Classical and Hellenistic times. Philippos II used to travel, even when the purpose was going into battle, accompanied by his retinue of jesters, musicians and assorted courtiers who would normally be present at banquets back home. Theopompos recounts how Philippos took such persons with him everywhere.[408] The migratory court of the grandest scale remains by far the court of Alexandros the Great during the Asian campaign. Apart from the military force, a host of attendants, including sophists, engineers, poets and men of science, is reported to have been attached to his train. Although the evidence does not allow for the reconstruction of an accurate number, enough names and occupations of these individuals have been preserved so as to allow us a glimpse of court life on the move.[409] Ploutarchos preserves a typical day of the ruler when military matters were not requiring quick marches and short resting stops.[410] In the morning, after sacrificing to the gods, he would sit for breakfast. Then, he would spend the day hunting or writing or organising his military affairs. He usually took his dinner quite late in the evening and he had a host of cooks and bakers travelling with him to provide for it. The care, which Alexandros III awarded to the organisation and execution of these evening banquets, draws attention to their function as social events, as opposed to a necessity dictated by subsistence.[411] The king did not eat alone behind closed curtains as was the practice with the Persians.[412] Rather, the Makedonian banquet was an open affair in which the King played a central role.[413] Attendants could range from a handful of the king's most trusted companions to a hundred guests.[414] The participants were not deprived of certain luxuries they could enjoy at

provided by archaeological excavations. This is particularly pertinent in the study of the organisation of the actual court complexes. The most relevant sites are those of the palaces at Vergina and at Pella in Makedonia.

408 "*..περιήγετο γὰρ πανταχοῦ τοὺς τοιούτους ὁ Φίλιππος*." Theopomp. *apud* Athen. *Deipn.* 10.435b-c, (*FGrHist* 115 F 236).

409 For an in-depth account of the military and civilian following during Alexandros' expedition see the still important work of Engels (1978), esp. pp. 11-14. A small degree of caution has to be exercised with his referencing, esp. on p. 11, n.1, (i.e. the physician Philippos appears in Plout. *Alex.* 19.2 instead of 19.4ff, while the seer Kleomantes in Plout. *Alex.* 50.3 instead of 50.6ff). Kleomantes can be a corruption for Kleomenes, see Heckel (1992), s.v. *Cleomenes* (2).

410 Plout. *Alex.* 23.

411 "*..θαυμαστὴ δ' ἦν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περίβλεψις ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης*..", Plout. *Alex.* 23.6.

412 Herakleides *apud* Athen. *Deipn.* 4.145a-146a.

413 See Vössing (2004).

414 The size of the average sympotic chamber based on archaeological evidence from Vergina, Olynthos and Perachora could hold 9 to 23 couches, Tomlinson (1970). Ephippos (*FGrHist* 126 F 2) *apud* Ath. *Deipn.* 4.146c speaks of 60-70 guests. Additionally, there is the famous "Tent of a Hundred Couches" that was used during expeditions. Diod. 17.16.4 first mentions it in association with the

home. They took their meal reclining in couches and engaged in long conversations over wine, as was Alexandros' preference. Moreover, he personally oversaw that none of his guests would be unequally treated in the distribution of food. Expenditure for these dinners rose in proportion with the wealth acquired at each stage of the expedition, reaching the height of ten thousand drachmai per dinner.[415] That became the standard amount spent for the entertainment provided during Alexandros's dinners. Like his father, he had an affinity for the performing arts and ordered the transport of groups of performers from Greece to wherever he was at the time. Artists of all types are attested to have entertained him and his courtiers in Phoenike,[416] Memphis[417] and Ekbatana,[418] to name but a few. What is most important for our purposes here, though, is that Alexandros's entourage is repeatedly referred to as those surrounding the 'court' (e.g. *…πρῶτον μὲν* περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν *εἶχε ῥαβδούχους Ἀσιαγενεῖς…*,[419] *…οἵ τε φίλοι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ πάντες* οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν *Μακεδόνες…*,[420] *…χιλίους αὐτῶν εἰς* τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν *ἔταξεν ὑπασπιστὰς…*[421]) at a time when Pella, the official court of the Kingdom, was hundreds of miles away. As a form of entertainment the banquet strengthened the social and ideological cohesion of a campaigning army, between the officers themselves as *omotrapezoi* (sharing the same food) and vis-à-vis their king as the provider of the food and merriment.

The practice of the court forming around the king and not being associated strictly with the capital city continued into the Hellenistic period. The most graphic example is the Kingdom of the Seleukids whose use of multiple capital cities (such as Seleukeia-upon-Tigris, Antiocheia, Laodikeia and Apameia) demanded a flexible court structure with the ability to "wander" between the various points of rule.[422] What seems therefore, to have allowed the courts of the Makedonian kings to become

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banquet held by Alexandros during the Dion festival in 334 BCE. It crops up again as the scene for the symposion held to celebrate the recovery of Alexandros from wounds in India (Curt. 9.7.15) and as the place where the mass marriages at Susa took place, Chares (*FGrHist* 125 F 4) *apud* Ath. *Deipn*. 12.538b-d.

[415] Plout. *Alex*. 23. The extravagance of these meals can be brought to focus if one takes into consideration the fact that a skilled worker or hoplite in the late fourth century BCE received one drachma as a day's wage (Thouk. 3.17.4) and that, according to Aristophanes (*Wasps*, ll. 300-302, ll. 605-610), half a drachma (a heliast's pay) could sustain a family of three for a day, even if at a subsistence level.

[416] Plout. *De Fort. Alex*. 334e.

[417] Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.4.

[418] Ath. *Deipn.* 12.538f-539a.

[419] Diod. 17.77.4.

[420] Diod. 17.101.3.

[421] Diod. 17.110. 1.

[422] See Herman (1997).

migratory was their elevation from the concrete to the abstract. The confines of physical space were secondary to the human element whose particular organisation and scope of action made up the basis upon which the King's rule rested.

MODERN APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT COURT

There are few studies devoted to the Makedonian or to the Ptolemaic court, although literature on the Hellenistic courts taken as a whole increases.[423] References to the aforementioned particular courts and their structure, nevertheless, remain scarce and incidental. Of the most useful studies are the relatively recent articles by Herman (1997) and Weber (1997). Although both of them are interested in the phenomenon of the Hellenistic court as a whole, they are equally breaking away from the traditional approach of the court as an abstract concept which mainly encompassed intellectual life, élite social interaction and some vague mention about circles of decision making.[424] Both Herman and Weber are concerned with the political value of the royal court in light of the lack of any formal administrative apparatus. Herman, in particular, has made use of Norbert Elias' socio-historical approach to the workings of court society in the context of seventeenth century France. Since the French and English translations of Elias' *Habilitiation* thesis in 1974 and 1983 respectively his work on the organisation of royal courts has become influential and the standard yardstick for any discussion of royal courts.[425] Elias' aim was to develop a theoretical model against which such court societies, as that of Louis XIV, the (so-perceived) paragon of absolutism whom he uses as a case study, could be compared. The objective of his research was to establish how certain 'figurations' of interdependent people (in his case the king and his courtiers) made it possible for themselves to maintain their position of power for long periods of time over vast numbers of subjects and territory. His method, particularly pertinent to this study, was the elaboration, through the employment of empirical evidence, on those specific

[423] See also Mooren (1998). See Savalli-Lestrade (1998) on the friends of kings in Seleukid Asia and (2003) on the place of queens within the court society.
[424] This focus was particularly prevalent a quarter of a century ago, where the study of the Hellenistic court was first addressed more extensively. Indispensable representatives of this approach, particularly for their freshness and wealth of detail, are Claire Préaux's (1978), "Le Monde Héllénistique", pp. 181-229, Walbank's 1984 entry to the *CAH* on "Monarchies and Monarchic Ideas," pp. 62-100, esp. 68-77, Fraser's discussion of the relationship between the city of Alexandria and its sovereign, (1972), ch. 3, esp. 101-105 and Mooren's essay on "The Nature of Hellenistic Monarchy," (1983), pp. 205-240.
[425] See Spawforth (2007).

social structures which made, on the one hand, individuals with power centralised in their hands (at the apex of monopoly rule environments, as he calls them) to optimise and maintain that power, and on the other, of the people in their close proximity to perpetuate the rule of the aforementioned through the pursuing of their self-interest.[426] His aim was also to study how traditions pertaining to ceremony and etiquette can be instruments of rule and power distribution.[427]

At this point, it has to be acknowledged that academic research revolving around the study of princely courts has focused mainly on the kingdoms of early Medieval Europe and later.[428] This can be explained primarily because of the abundance of detail available for those periods. In most cases scholars can access primary sources as immediate as the hand-written memoirs of courtiers or the kings themselves, something which is impossible for the Classical and Hellenistic periods, or for the ancient monarchies at large.[429] Consequently, the groundwork for the study of court societies has been laid through the examination of societies far removed from the chronological scope of this chapter. This should not act as an inhibitor though. As Samuel has illustrated in 1988 by drawing a widely accepted and frequently used parallel between the nature of Makedonian kingship and that of the Merovingian dynasty, comparisons can add valuable fresh insight to the study of things much debated yet still controversial.[430]

Going back to the specialised studies on the Hellenistic courts discussed in the beginning of this section, neither Weber nor Herman have addressed the makeup and function of courts in Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt. This is all the more significant since a comprehensive treatment of this subject area is complementary to the debate on the nature of monarchy. Paraphrasing Elias, a

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[426] Elias (2006), p. 3.
[427] Elias (2006), p. 29. On this topic, see also Cannadine & Price (1987).
[428] The *OED* itself traces its definition of 'court' as far back as the period of the early Frankish kingdoms, *c*. 450-750 CE.
[429] For example, in his analysis of the structures of the French court society Elias, *inter alia*, was guided largely by the *Mémoires* of Duc de Saint-Simon, a courtier in the reign of Louis XIV and a resident for many years at Versailles. His memoirs were a monumental work of forty volumes, (Duc de Saint-Simon, 1856-1858). Equally important is his access to the diaries of Louis XIV himself, (Grouvelle & Grimoard, 1806).
[430] The structure of the Makedonian monarchy is one such issue, as we shall see later on. Scholars have objected to the validity of certain of Samuel's arguments but overall he has met with widespread acceptance. Carney (2000) records similarities in the position of royal women in both kingdoms, pp. 16-18.

history of the court is also a history of the monarchy.[431] The people closer to the person of the king, both physically and intimately, have had traditionally the function of delegating his will to areas where his physical presence would be impossible. They provided the link(s) with the ever-widening web of his subjects. The power and responsibilities assigned to those people are by implication reflective of the king's own power, both of its degree as well as of its nature. As Habicht has argued in a short article on the ruling class of the Hellenistic monarchies, the circle of the ruler's friends was frequently perceived as a political power in its own right.[432] This means that their involvement in the political life of the kingdom was crucial for the smooth functioning of the monarchy. In this respect, the court and its representatives could detract from the ruler's overall political power, if the relationships between the two were not negotiated efficiently.[433]

Scholarship to the present tends to downplay, and at times, disregard any potential influence of Makedonian structures on the courts of the Ptolemaioi and the Seleukidai alike. One often gets the impression that the appeal of 'extra-Makedonian' models of kingship, administration and aesthetics on those overseas-based polities was stronger than the traditions proper of the northern Hellenic Kingdom. It has been argued that palace architecture had "*oriental predecessors*"[434] and the court was of "*an elaboration which* [recalled] *the monarchies of Persia and Pharaonic Egypt*."[435] The presence of philosophers in the company of Hellenistic Kings was following the "*Greek models*", while the Hellenistic royal conduct had its "[ideological] *roots in the Greek world*".[436] A 'hellenocentric' approach, which focuses on the emulation of southern Greek organisational models, predominates in accounts of the administration of the cities in the Hellenistic Kingdoms.[437] Yet, these are only half-truths. The following will attempt to establish the degree of influence of Makedonian court structures in the organisation of the early Ptolemaic court.

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[431] Elias' more insightful comment was that "*The sociology of the court is at the same time a sociology of the monarchy*", (2006), p. 42.
[432] Habicht (2006), pp. 26-40.
[433] Polyb. 5.50.4-9, 29.27.1-8.
[434] Nielsen (1994), p. 11 and Préaux (1978), pp. 208-209.
[435] Walbank (1984), p. 68.
[436] Préaux (1978), p. 213. By 'Greek models' and 'world' Préaux refers exclusively to the city-state environment.
[437] Notably Fraser (1972), pp. 93-101.

ΑΥΛΗ, Η ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΙΚΙΑ:[438] THE COURT AS A PHYSICAL SPACE

The term *αὐλή*, or else, *βασίλειον/βασίλεια* is used by the extant sources to describe the palace complex of the ruler.[439] This section will address the physical expression of the term *αὐλή*. The principal aim is to distil, through the architectural arrangement of the Makedonian and Ptolemaic palaces, information concerning the interrelation of the ruler with his entourage.

The architectural structure and layout of the royal court was, according to Elias, determined by the residential needs coupled with the administrative and representative functions of the king.[440] It is a logical assumption to deduce from the spatial arrangements of the court structure the sort of social arrangements that unfolded there.[441] Every type of social interaction, especially between units of people perceived as 'belonging' together, finds its visible expression in terms of space arranged in such a way so as to accommodate that interaction.[442] Speaking about palace complexes such spatial arrangements will take the form of rooms and courtyards, as well as gardens, hunting grounds and athletic installations. The purpose of the following overview of the state of the archaeology in the capital cities of the Argeadai and the Ptolemaioi is to familiarise the reader with the peculiarities of the primary material at hand. In the process, conclusions will be drawn regarding the social connotations of the organisation of physical space.

THE ROYAL PALACES

In an interesting feat of contrast the royal palaces of Makedonia (in Aigai and in Pella) are revealed to us mainly through their architectural remains whilst, to the contrary, Alexandria comes alive principally through literary texts.[443] This has to be

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[438] *Souda* s.v. *Αὐλή*

[439] See for instance Diodoros' use of *βασίλεια* to describe palaces in Egypt (e.g. 1.50.6, 1.51.1, 2.22.4, 17.50.3) and Asia (e.g. 1.46.4, 2.6.2, 2.13.6). For use in a Hellenic context see Ps.-Skylax 66.5, "*Πέλλα πόλις καὶ βασίλειον ἐν αὐτῇ*."

[440] Elias (2006), pp. 43-44.

[441] There's more to be noted on that in Grahame (2000).

[442] Grahame (2000), p. 43.

[443] The palace-fortress at Demetrias lies beyond the chronological scope of this paper as it dates unambiguously to the Hellenistic period. Its construction postdates the creation of the homonymous city by Demetrios Poliorketes around 294 BCE (Ailios Herodianos, *De Pros. Cathol.* 3,1: 58, ll. 29-30, Plout. *Dem.* 53.7). Large building complexes excavated in Perachora at Korinthos (which also date to the period of Demetrios Poliorketes, see Tomlinson 1970, pp. 311-312) and in the site of Kopanos

the case as sadly very few architectural elements of the original Ptolemaic structures have survived natural catastrophes and human encroachment.[444] The palace complex itself was destroyed during the Alexandrine citizen uprisings in 272 CE, whereby the armies of Aurelianus obliterated a good one fourth of the city, including the Brouchion district where the so-called Royal Quarters stood.[445] The Brouchion, which also accommodated the Mouseion was said to be as of old, the "*abode of distinguished men*."[446] Aboveground, traces of roads on the north-east side of Alexandria and colonnades are among the few remains of the Ptolemaic city.[447] Underwater, excavations have been taking place in the harbour of Alexandria since the 1990s when the Egyptian government lifted a ban on maritime archaeology.[448] The yield of these excavations is significant for Ptolemaic history as it involves the detection of remains from the Ptolemaic Royal Quarters, which lie at the bottom of the Eastern Harbour of Alexandria.[449]

Conversely, in the case of palaces in Makedonia there is very little by way of oral tradition upon which to base reconstructions. Even the discovery and identification of the two royal capital cities of the Makedonian Kings has proved an arduous process hindered by the vague and at times conflicting snippets of

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(ancient Mieza), near modern day Naoussa (see Allamani & Koukouvou 2002) so far lack corroborating evidence to be identified as palatial structures and will not be dealt with here, [see Hammond (1997) pp. 178-179, *contra* Kosmetatou, (2000), p. 810, who calls them "*palatial establishments*"]. On the founding of the city of Alexandria and its architect, see Vitr. *De Arch.* II, pr. 1-4. Most important sources are Strabon's description of the city of Alexandria including its palace, 17.1.6-10 and scattered descriptions of various parts of the palace preserved by Polybios (15.30), and Diodoros (17.52.3-7). See also the so-called *Letter of Aristeas* §§ 109, 115, 181, 301.

[444] I.e. events such as the tsunami of the 21st July 365 CE (Amm. Marc. 26.10.15-19), recently verified by geophysical investigations, and the natural process of subsidence are amongst the factors leading to the gradual submergence of Alexandria underwater (see Stanley, Jorstad & Bernasconi 2004). In addition, the modern city of Alexandria has grown over the ancient ruins seriously limiting archaeological endeavours.

[445] See Epiphanios, *Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν*, ll. 258-261 and 324-326.

[446] "*…amisit regionum maximam partem, quae Bruchion appellabatur, diuturnum praestantium hominum domicilium.*" Amm. Marc. 22.16.15.

[447] Recently (2004) a Polish-Egyptian expedition unearthed remains of auditoria at the location of the Brouchion district. Initially, there was an upsurge of hopes that these belonged to the Royal Library of Alexandria, (as reported by Whitehouse, 12 May 2004) only to be watered down later on with the re-identification of the remains as a 6th century CE Philosophy School, (cf. a conference was organised in order to discuss the findings by the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London. It was held in April 2005 and titled *Discovery of the Alexandrian Philosophy School of the 6th Century by Polish Archaeologists, 2004*, unpublished). For an Egyptian press release assessing the evidence, see Kamil (2005).

[448] First by the archaeologist J.-Y. Empereur in 1994 and soon after by Franck Goddio of the Institut Européen d'Archéologie Sous-Marine.

[449] For further information see the report of UNESCO concerning the management of the Alexandrian coastal heritage (available on the public domain at www.unesco.org/csi/pub/papers2/alex.htm) as well as the website of the Head of Underwater archaeological data collection for the University of Oxford, Franck Goddio, http://www.franckgoddio.org/Default.aspx.

information that have survived. In the case of Aigai, historians and archaeologists had sought the original seat of power of the Makedonian Kingdom from modern day Edessa[450] and its environs,[451] to the little refugee settlement of Vergina.[452] The modern history of the extensive foundations on the northern slopes of the Pierian Mountains near the latter is exemplary of the confusion that a thorough lack of context can create in determining the function of a structure. For Heuzey and Daumet, the French archaeologists who discovered the ruins in 1861 and conducted the first excavations, the site was identified as the ancient town of Valla and the structure as "*a prytanée royale*."[453] Associations with the royal family were maintained in all subsequent interpretations justified mainly by the scale of the structure and by the elegance of some of its architectural elements. Both were quite unprecedented for ancient Makedonian architectural standards known in the 1950s and 1960s. Romaios described it as a palace without, however, accounting for its existence in the area,[454] while his students and successors, G. Bakalakis and M. Andronikos, referred to it as a "*royal summer resort*."[455] It was not until the archaeological record of Vergina was enriched by discoveries such as the Royal Tombs (1976-1980) and the impressive theatre (1982),[456] that the majority of scholars accepted the site as that of Aigai.[457] Once the identity of the city was more or less put to rest, definitions of the structure became less nuanced and it is currently described as the official royal residence used by the Makedonian Kings when they and their entourage would visit the old capital.[458] State celebrations of the grandest scale, such as the marriage of Philippos II's daughter Kleopatra to the king of Epeiros, Alexandros,[459] as well as the preservation of the site as the royal resting ground, point to the continuing significance

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[450] This view was prevalent until the second half of the twentieth century and was based on a citation (Just. 7.1) that equated the ancient city of Edessa with that of Aigai. See Faklaris (1994), p. 609, for references. For versions of the foundation myth see Diod. 7.16, Just. 7.1.1.

[451] Edson (1970), p. 21 argued that Aigai was built next to Edessa, a view adopted by Kanatsoulis (1976), p. 31.

[452] The first to propose the location of Aigai at the site of Vergina was N.G.L. Hammond in 1968. See Hammond (1970). For a layout of the palace, see Appendix D.

[453] Heuzey & Daumet (1876), p. 212.

[454] Romaios (1953-1954).

[455] Andronikos et al. (1961).

[456] It features one of the largest known orchestras of the Greek world measuring a diameter of 28.44m, see Drougou (1997). Other important discoveries include the Sanctuary of Eukleia and excavations at the Agora, all of which are located north of the palace. For some epigraphic evidence supporting the relation of Vergina with Aigai, see Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001), p. 202.

[457] There are still dissenting voices, but they have not managed to be influential. For an identification attempt of Aigai with the site of Kopanos see Faklaris (1994), *contra* Hammond (1997).

[458] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001), p. 202.

[459] Diod. 16.91.3-92.

of Aigai as the traditional centre for Makedonian cultic activity. After all, it was the place whence from the political power of the Argead dynasty first emanated. And it was there that it was destined to end. Whether a prophetic fable or a *vaticinium ex eventu* the tale of the fall of the Argead dynasty as triggered by the failure to bury the last of its kings at Aigai paints the portrait of a people firmly entrenched in their traditions.[460]

The discovery of the city and palace of Pella, presented the archaeologist with an equal share of difficulties as Aigai, only this time of a different sort. Contrary to Aigai where the ruins marked the existence of an unknown settlement, in the case of Pella there was nothing tangible to guide the archaeologists to the location of the capital apart from a short and rather vague reference in Livy.[461] Until 1957 virtually no architectural elements of the city were visible.[462] Hence, it was fortunate that from the early trial trenches of the first major organised archaeological dig in the area clay roof tiles turned up engraved with the words *ΠΕΛΛΗΣ* and *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ*. Meaning rather unambiguously '*of Pella*' and '*of the king*' these verified the site as that of the capital of the Makedonian Kingdom.[463] However, it would be almost three decades before the ruins of the palatial complex would be securely identified as such.[464] Today, an extensive palatial complex of circa 60.000m² has been unearthed but excavations are still very much in progress, with each successive excavating season yielding important evidence.

DATING

Secure dating has not yet been resolved for either palace. The surviving palace at Aigai has been traditionally perceived as antedating the Argead dynasty. Proposed construction dates range from the reign of Kassandros (*ca.* 315-297 BCE) to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas (276-239 BCE).[465] Nevertheless, support for this suggestion originates, rather inconclusively, from a stylistic analysis of its architectural elements.[466] As archaeological evidence from the site accumulates though, this belief becomes increasingly challenged. An analysis of the tile stamps used in Aigai has

[460] Just. 7.2.1-4: "*praefatus, quoad ibi conditae posterorum reliquiae forent, regnum in familia mansurum*."
[461] Livy 44.46. For an overview of early attempts to identify the site of Pella made mostly by European travellers see Petsas (1960), pp. 116-117.
[462] See the descriptions of Petsas (1958, 1960). At the time he was Head of Excavations.
[463] Petsas (1978), pp. 20-21 with plates.
[464] Siganidou (1981). For a layout of the palace, see Appendix E.
[465] Borza (1992), p. 254 & n. 2.
[466] For a critique of this view see Touratsoglou (1997), p. 218, Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001), p. 203 & n. 33.

revealed that these predate the reign of Alexandros the Great.[467] In addition, Drougou, current co-Director of Excavations at Vergina, whose team unearthed also the Theatre in 1982, supports a construction date roughly coinciding with the reign of Philippos II. Based on the unique shaping of the fairly well preserved eastern *πάροδος* of the Theatre the excavators support an architectural connection to the palace, now lost.[468] The Theatre has been dated to the third quarter of the fourth c. BCE. The perceived conception of palace and theatre as a single unit linked by a causeway with monumental entrances, justifies a contemporaneous dating for both.[469] Hence, the new evidence presents a more solid argument against the traditional Hellenistic dating of the palace at Aigai. In view of that, this thesis accepts an earlier rather than a later date.[470]

Similarly, secure dating has yet to be established for Pella. This is in part attributed to the multiple stages of construction, extension and modification that the original structure underwent over time. The main building phase of the south section of the core of the palace (Buildings I and II), which is estimated to be the oldest, has been attributed to the reign of Philippos II, around the third quarter of the fourth c. BCE.[471] However, this does not preclude that the palace was built much earlier. A host of finds from amidst the ruins of this central area have been estimated by the excavators to predate the reign of Philippos II.[472] More buildings were added around the nucleus of the palace under the reigns of Kassandros and subsequently the Antigonidai, when it was much enlarged.[473] It is to be noted that in 171 BCE, during the reign of Perseus, the palace was already referred to as "*old*."[474] It is to the most ancient quarters of the palace that this chapter will place its emphasis.[475]

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[467] Pandermalis (1987).
[468] The eastern *πάροδος* forms a small square court designed to accommodate a monumental entrance connected to the palace, Drougou (1997), p. 289-290, Abb. 5.
[469] Drougou (1997), Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001), p. 206. Others to have argued for a dating of the palace from the reign of Philippos II are Nielsen (1994), p. 262 and Höpfner (1996), p. 17.
[470] The position of the pre-Philippic royal residence at Aigai has not been identified yet. Andronikos postulated that a fair assumption, that would only be verified by further research of course, would be that the earlier structure was built on the same area, quite possibly underneath, Andronikos (2004), p. 39.
[471] Chrysostomou (1997), p. 128. See also Blackman (1996-1997), p. 77, Blackman (2000-2001), p. 97 and Chrysostomou (2004b), p. 31.
[472] Of the earliest such finds is a large Doric column capital that Petsas (1978) argues belongs to the palace of Archelaos, pp. 48-49.
[473] Chrysostomou (2004b), p. 31. Also Blackman, Baker & Hardwick (1997-1998), p. 87.
[474] "*Pellae, in uetere regia Macedonum*," Livy 42.51.1.
[475] See Appendix E.

Overall, given the relative synchronicity of the construction of the royal residences at Aigai and Pella, the fact that they were both used simultaneously, as well as the practical advantages of one (Aigai) being fully excavated, as opposed to the work-in-progress that is Pella, it is believed that both can provide valuable evidence regarding the social and actual space occupied by the Argead rulers and their entourage.[476]

As for Alexandria, Diodoros and pseudo-Aristoteles report that the construction of the palace was ordered by the founder of the city himself in 331 BCE.[477] Supervision of the completion of building works in Alexandria, including the royal residence, was assigned to Kleomenes of Naukratis, one of the *φίλοι* of Alexandros.[478] Although direct references are lacking, the royal residence must have been completed by the end of the fourth century, when Ptolemaios I, following a sojourn in Memphis, took up his residence there.[479] It seems logical that the layout envisaged by Alexandros would be modified under Kleomenes of Naukratis and Ptolemaios I. Successive rulers, as we are informed, each made their own additions to the palace.[480] Without architectural remains though, these alterations are impossible to appreciate. The preliminary conclusions of the underwater excavations of the Antirhodos Palace, however, are said to correspond with Strabon's description "*to the minutest detail.*"[481]

CHOOSING THE AYAH

Pella replaced Aigai as the seat of power of the Argead dynasty during the reign of Archelaos in the late fifth century BCE.[482] The reasons behind the move are not clear but historical hindsight and the geo-strategic importance of the location of

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[476] Thanks to the labours of K.A. Romaios, F. Petsas, G. Mpakalakis and M. Andronikos, see Drougou & Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2006), pp. 52-74.
[477] Diod. 17.52. See also [Aristot] *Oikon.* 2.1352a, Just. 13.4.11. Le Rider argues that [Aristot] *Oikon.* 2.1352a suggests that the construction of Alexandria was finished under Kleomenes, (1997) pp. 88-89.
[478] Just. 13.4, Arr. *Anab.* 3.5, [Arist.] *Oikon.* 2.1352a.
[479] See Fraser (1972), I, p. 36.
[480] Diod. 17.52.4-5, Strab. 17.1.8, illustrates vividly the outcome of three centuries of building activity in the Ptolemaic capital: "…*ἐξ ἑτέρων ἕτερ' ἐστίν*." (Drawing on Hom. *Od.* 17.266, concerning the palace of Odysseus ..."*there is building upon building.*")
[481] This sounds like a very optimistic assessment: Goddio cited in Schuster (1999), p. 46.
[482] The date usually given is c. 400 BCE, see Lilimpaki-Akamati (2004), p. 13, but could be placed earlier, since Euripides is said to have worked at the court of Archelaos in Pella before his death there in 406 BCE, *Souda* s.v. *Εὐριπίδης*.

Pella could provide some clues. Briefly, foreign relations successes in the south,[483] a diplomatic entente in the west[484] and regained control of the invaluable silver mines of Bisaltia in the east[485] made plans for the reorganisation of the Kingdom feasible. The transfer of the royal residence to Pella must have conformed to a need for more effective management of newly acquired funds and territories, as well as keeping a better check on allies and enemies alike. The city, such as it stands, is located south of the mouth of the Axios gorge, which forms the main pass from the Central Balkans to the sea, and is in proximity of the eastern-western trade routes.[486] At that time it could also profit from a nearby harbour, Phakos.[487] In all these three respects Aigai would prove unsatisfactory. There was no easy access to the sea and in order to reach the northern and eastern territories, either to defend or control them, one and one's army had to make the long detour around the Gulf of Thermaikos.[488] Strategic considerations always come into play when it comes to the administration of power.

The importance of geography, as related to the distribution and administration of power, especially military and economic, is also clearly illustrated in the location of the Ptolemaic capital. Alexandria was founded by Alexandros III to the west of the Nile Delta, between the marshes of Lake Mareotis and the sea.[489] At first glance, this scarcely inhabited spot on the Mediterranean coastline, most importantly lacking a reliable supply of fresh water, may have seemed like an odd choice for a city.[490] The advantages that the location offered, however, outweighed the shortage in

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[483] These involve on the one hand strengthening of diplomatic ties with Athens as exemplified by the siege of Pydna brought to a successful completion with Athenian aid (Diod. 13.49.1-2) and by the Athenian grant of *proxenia* and *euergesia* to Archelaos, (*IG* I^3 117). On the other, the acquisition of the territory of Perrhaibia just north of Thessalia added another buffer zone to the southern frontier of the Kingdom, (for a discussion with references see Hammond, 1979, p.139).

[484] See Arist. *Pol.* 5.1311b, for the marriage alliance between the eldest recorded daughter of Archelaos with the King of the Elimeians, Derdas.

[485] Archelaos was able to issue silver staters again after the mere tetrobols issued by the three kings that preceded him, Hammond (1989), p. 71-73. For an illustration see Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulos (1981), pl. 13.

[486] For a visual representation see Hammond's map at the back of the hardcover edition of his 1989 *The Macedonian State*, where he marks out the ancient routes, some still in use today.

[487] According to the ancient coastline Phakos, already inhabited in the Bronze Age, was 3km south of Pella. Today, the sea stretches 23km away.

[488] Aigai retained its symbolic significance as the first city of the Makedonian Kingdom. Its religious importance never waned. According to an ancient oracle ascribed to the reign of Perdikkas I, all rulers of the Argead dynasty were to be buried at Aigai lest their line should falter, (Just. 7.2). All of them were, with the exception of Alexandros III.

[489] Diod. 17.52. See also Plout. *Alex.* 26, Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.5-2.2, Curt. 4.7.27-28, Just. 11.11.13.

[490] Chauveau (1997) has demonstrated recently that the settlement of "Rhakotis", attested by Pausanias (5.21.9-10) and Strabon (17.1.6) to have pre-existed Alexandria, denotes more a linguistic pun than an actual village. In the Egyptian tongue "*Ra-qed*" means 'building site' and this was the name used by the Egyptian population of the area to refer to the new city, even in later times, p. 77. Empereur (1998)

water supply, which was quickly remedied via the construction of an extensive network of cisterns and ducts.[491] To the north, the city was catered by the spacious harbour of Pharos. Ancient authors comment on the strategic location of the city. By land, it was approachable only from east and west, both of which approaches were narrow enough to be easily defensible.[492] Commercially, the revenues of the area were attested since the times of Herodotos to have been abundant,[493] while ready access to the sea could only have strengthened the ties with the traditional commercial maritime powers of the Eastern Mediterranean.[494] It will never be certain whether Alexandros intended for Alexandria to become the capital of his extended Kingdom, as some have suggested.[495] It is important to note, however, that the Ptolemaioi seem to have understood the importance of the city's location. Unlike their contemporary rivals the early Ptolemaioi did not maintain their seat of power in the capital cities and palaces of their predecessors.[496] Instead, after a sojourn in Memphis as a satrap Ptolemaios I moved his capital to Alexandria where it remained to witness the end of the dynasty.[497] There, he chose to take up his residence in the palace of his former commander.[498]

Both the new capitals of the Argeadai and the Ptolemaioi flourished. It was thus that the previously unimportant Pella grew to become the "*greatest of the cities in Makedonia*,"[499] and Alexandria with its port came to eclipse those of Peiraias, Syracuse and Carthage, lacking "*little of being the most renowned of the cities of the inhabited earth*."[500]

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endorses the possibility that such misunderstandings could be attributed to the ancient authors' ignorance of the Egyptian language, p. 37.

[491] A 20km long canal dug from the Canopic branch of the Nile transported fresh water to the city, which was then fed to countless cisterns built below households. See further Empereur (1998), pp. 124-143.

[492] Diod. 17.52.3.

[493] Hdt. 3.91, where he attests to the profusion of Lake Mareotis.

[494] Vasunia (2001) comments on the possibility that the foundation of Alexandria at that specific location might have been promoted by the commercial circles of Naukratis, the Greek trading colony situated 45 miles south of Alexandria, p. 270.

[495] Ehrenberg, cited in Vasunia (2001), p. 272.

[496] The Seleukidai occupied at various points the Achaemenid palaces at Sardis, Ekbatana, Babylon and Susa. See Strab. 16.1.5 for Babylon. For the importance of Babylonian palaces during the Seleukid era, see Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, 1993, p. 38. More understandably, the Antipatridai and subsequently the Antigonidae settled in Pella and Aigai.

[497] We have no exact dating for the transfer of the capital to Alexandria. Our earliest reference is the Satrap Stele, which places a *terminus ante quem* in the year 311 BCE; a good dozen years after Ptolemaios took over the satrapy of Egypt. For a slightly earlier *terminus* see Turner (1984), p. 126, (313 BCE). In any case, the transfer was prior to the abandonment of the satrapy and the assumption of royal titulary.

[498] *CGC* 22182, (Satrap Stele).

[499] Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13: *…Πέλλαν, ἥπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων.*

[500] "*..ἐπιφανεστάτην οὖσαν σχεδόν τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην..*" Diod. 18.28.3-4. (Trans. Geer, 1947).

THE DESIGN

The royal residences themselves were in all cases reported to have been ostentatious designs. Claudius Aelianus mentions that Archelaos spared no expense for the embellishment of his palace and called upon the services of the painter Zeuxis, to no moderate fee, to provide its decorations.[501] The result was such that people from all over were hard pressed to visit Pella just to view the palace. Similarly, Alexandros III's instructions to his architects were to build a palace that would be renowned for its size and substance: *βασίλεια κατασκευάσαι θαυμαστὰ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ βάρος τῶν ἔργων*.[502] The original plans were, in the course of time, supplemented, expanded, adorned, elaborated, as each successive king added his own *diaitai*.

The core of the new palace at Pella was built on the middle of three hills overlooking the shores of the Thermaikos Gulf, the so-called Lake of Loudias, and the surrounding mountains.[503] At the time it was situated 1250m from the city of Pella and was surrounded by gardens and forested areas. Higher than the swamps that closed in on the Lake and away from the city clamour it must have presented its residents and guests with a serene and picturesque environment. The ruins excavated today stretch over 60.000m^2 but during the reign of the Argeadai the grounds covered by the palace must have been less. In terms of defences, the palace enjoyed an excellent southern orientation with views to the Loudias plain, the lake and the surrounding mountains. The hill itself is steep to the east and west, but manageable to the north and south. The south face was protected by a thick crenellated fortification wall interspersed with towers.[504] A road connected the monumental propylaia with the Agora, while a cart road climbed to the east side of the hill. To the north, a royal gate was added in the times of Kassandros, known as the *Βασίλειος Κάραβος*, which connected the palace with the Palaistra. The palace must have been very impressive to behold.[505] As mentioned previously, however, the function of the *βασίλεια* as the

[501] Cl. Ael. *VH* 14.17. Although Aelianus wrote the *Varia Historia* almost five centuries after Archelaos was building the Pellaion *βασίλειον*, the archaeological record does not contradict the sumptuousness with which he refers to the palace. Even if during the turn of the third century CE Pella presented an insignificant sight with few inhabitants (Luc. *Alex.* 6.15-7.1) its former "fortunate" status, as Lucianus calls it, was well known. What is more, the association of the painter Zeuxis with Archelaos and Pella is confirmed in Plin. *NH* 35.36, where the artist is alleged to have presented the King with a painting of the god Pan.

[502] Diod. 17.52.4.

[503] This was none other than the combined estuaries of the three rivers Aliakmon, Loudias and Axios that fell into the Gulf. Gradually alluvial deposits built up that transformed the area into a swamp.

[504] The wall was 3.30m in width.

[505] The palace is still under excavation and has only been partially revealed to date. With each successive excavation season, however, the picture becomes more complete.

awe-inspiring residence of the king and his family was only complementary to their administrative and social functions.

The palace at Pella consists (as per the excavations so far) of five clusters of buildings interconnected with stoai, gates, corridors, stairwells and peristyle courtyards. Much more elaborate in scope than the Aigai palace, the royal palace of the Makedonian capital incorporated alongside the residential quarters of the royal family all sorts of administrative buildings, reception rooms, public archives, a library, cult areas and a mint.[506] The central, and most official, cluster of the palace includes four monumental buildings (I, II, IV and V), with residential, educational and official functions.[507] Building IV is only conventionally called so as it consists of an intricate web of rooms, courts and baths.[508] According to the excavators, this contained most probably the personal quarters of the King. Its layout has been frequently compared to the descriptions for the inner court of the Ptolemaioi in Alexandria (*τὰ ἐνδοτέρω βασίλεια, πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἔχοντα διαίτας*).[509] The presence of dies and fragments of bronze rods suggest that in all probability the royal mint was incorporated to this building as well.

Building V has been identified as the Palaistra, or the *Gymnasion*. It measures 63,50 x 70 meters and is one of the earliest gymnasia in Makedonia excavated so far. Its size is roughly equal to the Palaistra of Olympia. Its incorporation to the palace complex in the second half of the fourth century BCE might have been the result of Philippos II's reorganisation of the royal youth.[510] That this structure was a *gymnasion* is supported by literary sources such as Polyainos who refers to the existence of a palaistra in Pella, which also included a pool.[511] At the north-eastern corner of the building there is a small swimming pool that communicated with both the bath in building IV and the Palaistra.[512] Further, Ploutarchos preserves an anecdote, whereby Leonnatos from Pella sent many camels from Egypt to the *gymnasia* in Makedonia.[513] In addition, the presence of an *ephebeion*, (a teaching room) on the centre of the north

[506] As regards cult areas, the court of building I includes apsidal recesses and stoai, which were used for worship. Evidence for this comes from pedestals discovered *in situ*, which supported bronze statues possibly of ancestors or heroes, Chrysostomou (2004b), p. 33.
[507] Refer to Appendix E. Building III (an unfinished stoic building) belongs to the reign of Kassandros.
[508] Chrysostomou (1997), p. 114.
[509] Strab. 17.1.9. Chrysostomou (2004), p. 453.
[510] Psoma (2006).
[511] Pol. *Strat.* 4.2.
[512] For the various components of a palaistra see Vitr. *De Arch.* 5.11: *ἀποδυτήριον*, *ἀλειπτήριον*, *ἐλαιοθεσίον*, *κονιστήριον*, *κωρύκειον* (=boxing room).
[513] Plout. *Alex.* 10.

side of the Palaistra, open on the south side, confirms the function of this building as a *gymnasion* for the physical training of the heirs to the Makedonian throne and their royal entourage. The *ephebeia* rooms usually consisted of an exedra with wooden seats where the youths and *epheboi* would take their instruction.[514]

A very interesting structure, if only for its sheer proportions, is the complex consisting of buildings I and II, both of which were designed to serve official and public functions. These share a façade, the length of which is 160 meters. The total surface area of both buildings amounts to a staggering 13.000m^2. A monumental entranceway granted access to both buildings. Its roof was supported by four Doric columns of one meter in diameter. Measuring sixteen meters, it is six meters wider than the entranceway of the palace at Aigai. Both buildings had a rectangular court at their centre, from where large rooms fanned out on all sides. Building I boasts a very impressive room on the north side of the court, with a total surface of 400m^2. The excavator argues that this large room was the *οἶκος*, or great *ἀνδρών* of the palace. Such a room would be used for the auditions of the king (*χρηματισμός*), councils and trials, but also for banquets (*συμπόσια*) and the reception of foreign ambassadors and diplomats.[515] With a capacity for 26 *klinai* it is the largest of three other smaller *andrones*, situated on either side of Building I, each of which could accommodate up to 15 *klinai*. Building II was the administrative and, at the same time, social hub of the palace.[516] Finally, its courtyard is reminiscent of the *μέγιστον περιστύλιον* of Alexandria. Measuring 50x50m. this courtyard was probably used for larger gatherings. It also communicated with the palaistra. Chrysostomou argues that although the structures currently under excavation exhibit styles dating to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE and later, Buildings I and II basically kept their initial design, while having undergone certain adjustments and additions.[517]

The same emphasis on the social aspect of court life is exhibited in the palace at Aigai. The palace is a rectangular structure measuring 104.50X88.50m. With a central peristyle court (measuring 44.50m), surrounded by four doric stoai, its layout is very similar to a Hellenic oikos. The entrances to the various rooms which open beyond the peristyle court are marble and must have supported wooden frames and doors. The rooms on the south wing (F) appear to be the most formal. *Klinai* on all

[514] Compare with the *ephebeion* in Mieza.
[515] Chrysostomou (1997), p. 126.
[516] Chrysostomou (1997), p. 125.
[517] Chrysostomou (1997), p. 128.

sides of the walls, as well as elaborate mosaics, indicate that these rooms were used for banqueting. The same arrangement is mirrored on the west side (M1, M2, M3), which probably housed the administrative quarters of the palace. These rooms are impressively big and are decorated with marble floors. They must have accommodated the bigger banquets of the royal family.[518] Similarly, Room E houses an intricate mosaic floor, with female figures at each corner. A running step along the walls provided the basis upon which the *klinai* stood.

As in Pella, the palace dominates the plain beneath and the city of Aigai both through its position, as well as its size. It is defensively located on the slopes of a hill with a steep ravine on the west and a fortified acropolis to the south. It forms part of a complex that includes the Theare, the Agora and perhaps other buildings. A base survives which must have supported a balcony, out of which the ruler would have had a clear view upon the city of Aigai and the valley of the Haliakmon, way to the north. This opening to the outside world is a unique feature of the palace, as it is an extremely rare addition in the layout of the ancient *oikos*. The private quarters must have been located in the now entirely lost second floor.

As already argued above, the extant foundations of the Aigai palace date to the middle of the second half of the fourth century. In the Hellenistic period, an extension was added to the west, which must have comprised auxiliary rooms. The palace was finally abandoned in the second century with the fall of the Antigonidai.

As far as the Alexandrian palace is concerned, it is very unfortunate that despite recent archaeological work in the Eastern Harbour and its subsequent publication, there is still very little to go on in terms of the Royal Quarters. For the most part, these still lie submerged in the Great Harbour and concealed beneath the modern city of Alexandria.[519] However, Strabon's description, as well as sources such as the Letter of Aristeas, Theokritos' *Eidyllia*, Poseidippos' epigrams, Polybios and Diodoros provide us with small titbits of information enough to formulate a clear view of the layout of the Ptolemaic palace.[520] As in Pella, the Ptolemaic Royal Quarters were surrounded by extensive grounds aimed for entertainment, which along with the palace complex, occupied more than one quarter of the city. The inner palaces themselves comprised a multitude of painted apartments and groves. Audience halls,

[518] Drougou & Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2006), pp. 101-123.
[519] Goddio et al. (1998) provide vital new information about the shape of the harbour, but despite the title of their book, very little on the Ptolemaic Royal Quarters.
[520] Strab. 17.1.8-9. See Nielsen (1994).

such as the one used by Ptolemaios II Philadelphos to receive the Jewish sages in a multi-day banquet, indicate that banqueting, with its blurred informal and official overtones, remained the cornerstone of social interrelations at the court. In addition, the palace contained large peristyle courts that could provide the venue for populous gatherings including the bodyguard, the household troops, as well as the officers of the infantry and the cavalry.[521] Other sources reveal that the palace had areas of torture, while it must have been quite difficult to navigate on account of a multitude of intersecting galleries and gates.[522] Finally, the Museum also formed part of the royal palaces. It included a public walk, an Exedra with seats, and a large house, in which the common mess-hall of the men who studied in the Museum was situated.[523] Late in the dynasty, Lucanus still marvelled at the splendour of Kleopatra VII's palace.[524]

Most problematic of the two types of evidence is admittedly the interpretation of the material remains. It has been emphatically proposed that when dealing with the archaeological remains of ancient societies "*form follows function* [and] *not the other way round*".[525] Such a deduction is in line with the oft-repeated architectural dictum that form follows function.[526] In the case of the palace at Aigai even though no epigraphy or other literary material is associated with the buidling, the archaeology can be quite telling for its function. Insofar as architecture can provide clues for the organisation of people, the multiplicity of lavish banquet rooms in all palaces signifies that dining was and continued to be a paramount aspect of élite interaction, domestic and foreign. The banquet provided the backdrop against which the ruler interacted with his courtiers and foreign ambassadors and could gain their support.[527] As exemplified by the discussions that took place in the symposion between Ptolemaios II and the Jewish sages, the banquet also had a deliberative purpose to fulfill. In an Argead context, the

[521] Polyb. 15.25.
[522] Polyb. 15.27, 15.31.
[523] Strab. 17.8.
[524] Lucan. *De Bello Civile* 10.107-127.
[525] Nielsen (1994), p. 13.
[526] Louis Henry Sullivan (1896), "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered", *Lippincott's Magazine*, "*Whether it be the sweeping eagle in his flight, or* […] *over all the coursing sun, form ever follows function, and this is the law.*" Even though expressed by a late nineteenth century modernist architect this notion is resonant of Vitruvius' threefold principle of durability, utility and beauty as applied to the construction of defensive, religious and utilitarian buildings, Vitr. *De Arch.* 1.3.2.
[527] See Murray (1983).

sources make it explicit that Philippos II used dining as a setting in which to discuss state policy.[528]

In terms of who attended these banquets, the sources indicate, as mentioned previously, that these could be foreign dignitaries, such as the Persians invited in the court of Amyntas I, and most frequently, the king's friends.[529] The layout of the sympotic room, does not allow for differentiations in hierarchy. There is nothing to suggest architecturally that the kline of the king was placed at a more conspicuous level or place than the rest in Argead Makedonia. However, the Letter of Aristeas suggests that in Ptolemaic Egypt the king would sit at the centre and the various guests around him.[530] This was probably the case in Makedonia as well, but the absence of a throne, or any other permanent conspicuous *kline* is indicative of the immediate nature of the relationships cultivated between the king and his court. Further, the banquet hall was called an *andron*, precisely because women were not allowed to dine with the men. In an incident recounted by Herodotos, Amyntas I explains to his Persian guests that the presence of women in banquets is not a custom of the Makedones.[531] That this might have been the case is further strengthened by the apparent absence of banqueting vessels from Makedonian female burials.[532] Conversely, *σκύφοι*, *κύλικες*, *κρατῆρες*, *οἰνοχόοι* and other such objects abound in male burials. This 'rule' of absence appears to have applied to women of the royal family and the families of the guests, as allowance was made for various female singers, flute-players and such like to entertain the banqueters with their presence.[533] In architectural terms it has given rise to the designation '*ἀνδρών*,' literally meaning the men's quarters. Otherwise such rooms are known as *συμπόσια*.[534] We know from literary sources that the women had

[528] Ath. *Deipn*. 6.260a.
[529] Hdt. 5.21. See further Tomlinson (1970) and Borza (1983) for the symposia of Alexandros III.
[530] Aristeas §183.
[531] Hdt. 5.17-21, "*Ὦ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γέ ἐστι οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν…*"
[532] It has to be noted that most of the Makedonian chamber tombs excavated so far have been discovered robbed, with the remarkable exception of those in the "Great Tumulus" at Vergina. For a description of the finds of the female burial in the antechamber of Tomb II ('Tomb of Philippos') at Vergina see Andronikos (2004), pp. 175-197. Compare with the banqueting vessels from the main chamber, ibid. pp. 145-159. This view is to be tested further by the outcome of the ongoing excavations in the extensive burial ground of Archontiko, near Pella. Drs A. & P. Chrysostomou have excavated *c.* 5% of the site which, according to the finds, flourished from the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic period. So far, female burials have not been associated with banqueting vessels. See the *Archaeological Reports* for the years 1996-2005, s.v. *Archontiko*.
[533] See Ath. *Deipn*. 10.435a-d (Theopompos *FGrHist.* 115 F 236), & the description of the banquet of Karanos in Makedonia, Ath. *Deipn*. 4.129a.
[534] Excavated *symposia* date as far back as the 6th century BCE and are not a Makedonian phenomenon. See Tomlinson (1970), p. 310.

their own quarters in the palace, the so-called *γυναικωνίτης*.[535] Finally, the palace at Pella is the best testament of how much the political and fiscal life of the state was intertwined with the personal, recreational and educational life of its leader. Banquet rooms, the royal mint, the ruler's private space, hunting parks and gymnasia were all situated in very close quarters. All these spaces, with the exception of the ruler's private quarters, were frequented by members of the court and their offspring, making their interaction with the ruler constant, seamless and highly personal.

Having examined the connotations and the physical setting of courtly interaction, the following section draws attention to its social organisation.

Οι Περι την Αυλην: The Court as a Social Space

"*..'Ruling' is a complex activity, and* […] *the manipulation of people is one of the most important functions in this activity*."[536] This maxim, expounded by Elias, draws on his theory of interdependence between the ruler of a so-called absolutist régime and the individuals that populate his immediate surroundings i.e. his courtiers. His idea runs contrary to the 'Great Man' theory of history that views individuals as the ultimate explanations of historical events.[537] It is very common to think of Philippos II's groundbreaking re-organisation of the Makedonian Kingdom as if he put it in motion almost single-handedly; or of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos as leading Egypt to bankruptcy, or to greatness, depending on the historian, as if he had embarked on a solitary mission.[538] Instead, Elias stresses that the actions of an individual must always be understood in reference to the network of interdependencies s/he forms with others. In light of this, rulers depended on the ruled as much as the ruled depended on the rulers. Drawing heavily on empirical material Elias demonstrated that "*even the autonomy of the mightiest king ha*[d] *fixed limits*."[539] Although the king alone from all other social groups in the

[535] Hdt. 5.20, "*…τὴν γυναικηίην*", Plout. *Alex.* 9.Separation between the sexes in the social activity of banqueting was in place during the reign of Philopator and his *thalamegos*, Ath. *Deipn.* 5.204d-206c.
[536] Elias (2006), p. 139.
[537] Elias (2006), p. 152. For the 'Great Man' theory of history see Carlyle (1963), also Sztompka (1993), pp. 261-264.
[538] For Philippos II, see Hammond (1989), p. 178: "*These changes within the kingdom were assuredly powered by the personality of Philip; for he must have inspired the peoples of the enlarged kingdom to go to work with enthusiasm...*" Ptolemaios Philadelphos: for the former characterisation, see Turner (1984), p. 159: "*It was Philadelphus* […] *who bankrupted Egypt.*" For the latter, see Samuel (1993), p. 169.
[539] Elias (2006), p. 35.

realm can feel no pressure from above, he can nevertheless experience severe pressures from the sides (what can be described as peer group pressure, i.e. rival kings), but most importantly from below. In its most exaggerated form this implies that if all the actions of his subordinates were to be directed against him he would be cancelled out in a single moment. Such a scenario can scarcely materialize though. The reason is straightforward. In the narrower circle of the court, that concerns us here, it is usually the case that the actions of the court people, as individuals or as groups united by similar interests, are directed against one another in their competition towards ever-augmenting distinction. The ultimate source of this distinction, it has to be remembered, is the king. As much as it is, therefore, in the interest of the courtiers to maintain intact their source of satisfaction, so it is in the interest of the ruler to regulate the tension that keeps his courtiers divided. By extent, he would be more successful in channelling their energies away from him. This regulation, among other things, could take the form of dispensing titles,[540] organising them hierarchically, and of developing a certain form of ceremonial.[541]

Court societies, however, and their inherent hierarchical order did not spring up spontaneously around the person of a charismatic leader turned ruler. They were "*formed gradually on the basis of a specific transformation of social power-relationships*."[542] This means that, as hinted above, individuals are driven into specific forms of relationships (in this case the court) by a particular dependence on others. Through their interdependence they hold fast to one another within it. The court then is generated through the interweaving of dependencies, but also reproduces itself again and again becoming an established institution, as long as this particular kind of mutual dependence persists within the structure of society at large.[543] The successful regulation of those relationships/dependencies translated into augmented political power for the ruler, as the reach of his authority spread from the political centre to the periphery through the commissioning of his courtiers to carry tasks further afield. The following section will examine the organisation and hierarchical structure of royal courts in the Kingdom of Makedonia under the Argeadai and in the Kingdom of Egypt under the early Ptolemaioi. The examination will touch upon the manner in

[540] Elias (2006), p. 78.
[541] Regulation could also involve the division of confidence to the effect that "*La jalousie de l'un sert de frein à l'ambition des autres*," Louis XIV quoted in Elias (2006), p. 141-142.
[542] Elias (2000), p. 394.
[543] Elias (2000), p. 394.

which the individuals attached to the royal courts of Pella and Alexandria were organised, the functions they served and whether there was continuity between the two systems of court organisation.

Court Organisation & Hierarchies

The designation hierarchy (*ἱεραρχία*) to describe the graded arrangement of interrelated individuals in the entourage of a ruler does not appear in the vocabulary of the Classical and Hellenistic sources that concern this thesis. The term is a later Christian construction with theological and cleric nuances,[544] although etymologically it drew on the word *ἱεράρχης*, a religious office known to us from inscriptions from Oropos and elsewhere.[545]

In describing the powers and duties of the Argead rulers Hammond made reference to what he called their "*assistants*." The position of these helpers, he mentions, "*ranked immediately after* [the King] *and before any commoner*."[546] Insofar as this holds truth it raises the question of the internal organisation of this body of aides. Hammond asserted that they conformed to some sort of "corporate hierarchy," but he did not move beyond the supposition that this was shaped by the existence of favourites, who, nevertheless were chosen on the basis of merit.[547]

More specifically, during the Argead period we know of individuals with such designations as *ἑταῖρος, φίλος*, *σωματοφύλακας*, *βασιλικός ὑπασπιστής, δορυφόρος*, *βασιλικός παῖς* to have populated the immediate entourage of the ruler. The order they are presented here is not reflective of any sort of *formalised* hierarchy, as there appears to have been none. This, of course, does not imply that individuals occupied random spaces at court. Roughly speaking, *ἑταῖροι, φίλοι* and *σωματοφύλακες* appear to have occupied the higher echelons of the ruler's entourage, while at the bottom of this informal hierarchy were the *βασιλικοί παῖδες*.[548] Above everyone stood the ruler,

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544 To the author's knowledge, it is first used by Athanasios of Alexandria in the late fourth century CE to refer to the divisions of angels (*Sermo in Annuntiationem Deiparae*, 28.940) while Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagites in the fifth century extended its usage from the stratification of the heavens to include the order of clerics in the secular world, (*De Caelesti Hierarchia*, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*).

545 *IG* VII 303 (Oropos, end of third c. BCE), also *IG* IX, 1 32 (Phokis, *c.* 170 BCE).

546 Hammond (1989), p. 23.

547 Hammond (1989), p. 23 and pp. 55-56.

548 The nature of their duties, which included among other things waiting at the royal table and tending to the king's horse, coincided with tasks reserved in other societies for slaves, Curt. 5.1.42. Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.1. They are also known to have prepared his bath, (Diod. 17.36.5), to have stood guard outside his chambers as he was sleeping, (Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.1 and Curt. 8.6) and to have waited upon him while

even though it is highly debatable whether any Argead made use of the title 'King' before Alexandros III. The appellation most frequently found in official documents was either just the proper name of the ruler, or sometimes followed by their patronymic.[549] In cases where the ruler expected to be absent from the Kingdom, usually campaigning abroad, he would appoint a deputy ruler (or *ἄρχων*) to fulfil the royal duties in his stead. Interestingly, such agents were not always members of the Argead dynasty. In 432 BCE Perdikkas II left in his stead as *ἄρχων* a certain Iolaos, of whom very little is known, while Antipatros is most famous for sharing the delegation of affairs in Makedonia with Olympias during Alexandros' absence in the Asian Campaign.[550]

This body of 'assistants' appears to have originated from the leading families of the Kingdom; first from Lower Makedonia and gradually, after its incorporation to the Kingdom by Philippos II, by Upper Makedonia as well. Distinguished lineage however, as has frequently been asserted in the past, was not a necessary prerequisite for admission in the entourage of the King.[551] Since the times of Archelaos, whose reign offers the earliest evidence for the association of a Makedonian king with a group of *ἑταῖροι*,[552] the title was given to non-Makedonian intellectuals that visited Pella as guests. Of those, the most famous is Euripides, who was chosen as a Companion by Archelaos.[553] On his death he was honoured by the *hetaireia* of the King, which demonstrates that his inclusion in the body of Companions (*ἑταῖροι*) was not a mere honour. During the reign of Philippos II the ranks of the Companions were greatly expanded by the admission of individuals from all over Hellas. It seems as though ethnonyms were of no concern to the Argeadai. Anyone deemed by the ruler worthy of being named his Companion was eligible.[554] This influx of 'assistants'

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performing sacrifices, (Val. Max. *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* 3.3. ext. 1). At war, they were expected to fight, Curt. 8.6.4, Arr. *Anab*. 4.16.6. Curtius 8.6.2 explicitly described the tasks performed by the Youths as "*duties by no means very different from slavish labours*," ("*..munia haud multum servilibus ministeriis abhorrentia*.")

549 E.g. *IG* I^3 61 ("*π*[ρέσβε]-[ς δ]*ὲ τρεῖς πέμφσαι ὑπὲρ πεντέκοντα ἔτε γεγον*[ότας] [ὁ]ς *Περδίκκα*[ν]"), *IG* II^2 102 "[Ἀμύντα]ς *Ἀρριδαίο*". See Hatzopoulos (1982) and the Oleveni inscription for the use of the title "*Βασιλεύς*" in conjunction with Philippos II.

550 Thouk. 1.62.2. Hammond (1989) asserts that Iolaos was perhaps "*a corollary member of the royal house*," p. 23. Diod. 18.118.1.

551 Edson (1970), p. 22.

552 Cl. Ael. *VH* 13.4.

553 Cl. Ael. *VH* 13.4, A. Gellius, *AN* 15.20,

554 Of the nearly 850 persons listed by Berve (1926), 275 are either certainly or probably ethnic Hellenes. Of this number, 126 persons are not associated with Alexandros' train, and thus outside present concerns. Of the 149 that remain, 69-- nearly half-- are court figures not associated with administration. They include sophists, physicians, actors, athletes, musicians, jugglers, and other

in the mid-fourth century BCE reflects most vividly a Kingdom under expansion and on the verge of embarking on an international military campaign. Philippos II depended on the co-operation of both the élites of the cantons of Upper Makedonia and of the Hellenic city-states before he turned his back on them. He was also in need of manpower. Accordingly, these people came to the court of the Makedonian king in order to benefit from his generosity. The particular circumstances, under which each one of those individuals decided to migrate to the Makedonian court will inevitably remain unknown, but it seems that at the very least they recognized specific advantages to be accrued from such a move. Exiles and itinerant physicians and artists seem to have formed a recurring pool of candidates.[555] By Philippos' time, the exploitation of gold and silver mines in the area had turned Makedonia into an extremely wealthy state. Theopompos, with his usual hint of scorn reserved for most things Makedonian, informs us that the rewards of the Companions of Philippos II were equal to the income of the 10.000 richest Hellenes put together.[556] Such an incredible amount was shared among just 800 individuals, which was the size of Philippos II's *hetaireia*. Apart from a share in the booty and other monetary rewards, the Makedonian rulers were also in the custom of giving away plots of land or cities to their Companions. Our earliest reference of what is known as a *dorea* (gift of land) dates from the time of Amyntas I (*c.* 510 BCE) when he donated the city of Anthemous to Hippias, the tyrant of Athens.[557] The more abundant evidence of the fourth century presents four instances where Philippos II did the same.[558] Alexandros III continued the practice with territories he had won by the spear.[559] After the defeat of Dareios, with the Treasury of the Persian Kings added to his possessions, Alexandros is said to have plunged into unfathomable depths of conspicuous consumption. What is interesting is that alongside him the Companions shared in the indulgence of extravagant luxury as well. Athenaios quotes from Agatharchides of Knidos that "*whenever the Companions of Alexandros entertained him at dinner they encased*

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entertainers, and a variety of hangers-on. Of the 89 remaining names, three are of uncertain ethnic origin, 24 are Hellenes serving the king in a variety of administrative tasks: some are envoys, some are clerks, some financial officers and some act as royal agents in local places.

[555] This is a much kinder description of the composition of Philippos II's courtiers, asTheopompos and Demosthenes would have liked: Theopompos *FGrHist* FF 162, 224, 225a-b, 236, Dem. *Ὀλυνθιακὸς Β'* 17-19.

[556] Theop. *FGrHist* 115 F 225b. Flower (1994) argues that despite Theopompos' disdain several of the facts he presents are largely accurate, pp. 184-210.

[557] Hdt. 5.94.1.

[558] Theopompos *FGrHist* 155 F 224, 225. See also Herman (1987), pp. 110-111.

[559] See Appendix C.

everything that was to be served as dessert in gold; and when they desired to eat the dessert, they tore off the gold with the rest of the waste and threw it away, that their friends might be spectators of their extravagance, while their slaves enjoyed the profit."[560] But this is probably an exaggeration. However, as with all exaggerations there is probably a kernel of truth in it.

As admission to the court depended on the ruler, so did advancement. Arrianos demonstrates this point amply when reporting the first steps towards the organisation of Egypt after its conquest by Alexandros. The most important administrative and military posts were reserved for those closest to the King.[561] The most trusted of friends could also represent the king in official state business or lead the army in his stead. Antipatros and Parmenion both commanded the army in Philippos' place, and were also sent as ambassadors to Athens representing the ruler.[562] Such a diverse set of responsibilities also raises the question of whether there was any specialisation in the function of the courtiers. This will be discussed further below.

So far the discussion has traced the rudimentaries of membership in the Argead court. Admission was open to Hellenes as well as Makedones as long as they met with the requirements of the ruler and advancement was based on the degree of closeness of particular courtiers to the king.[563] Similar to the court of Pella, the court of Alexandria was open to people from all over the Hellenic world. This time, the Makedonian element recedes to the background and the majority of the courtiers are attested to originate from Alexandria and the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean World.[564] The Ptolemaioi shunned from including the native Egyptian nobility into their court ranks.[565] The exceptions are few but one of them is worth mentioning. Of the six persons described before 300 BCE as particular friends of Ptolemaios I only one of them is a native Egyptian: Manetho, the Egyptian priest best known for his work *Aigyptiaka*, the history of Pharaonic Egypt.[566] In spite of any prejudice from either side, there was still a wide range of different backgrounds of people attached to the Ptolemaic court. As Fraser suggested, this seems to point to the fact that the early

[560] Ath. *Deipn*. 4.155c-d.
[561] Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.
[562] Theop. *FGrhist.* 115 F 217, Diod. 16.91.2; Dem. 19.69, Theop. *FGrHist* 115 F165.
[563] See also Xen. *Cyr*. 1.5.8, where the philoi are chosen from boyhood companions. This was also the purpose, as exemplified by the boyhood of Alexandros III, with the *basilikoi paidai*.
[564] Fraser (1972), p. 101 with references.
[565] See Lloyd (2002).
[566] Turner (1984), p. 125.

Ptolemaioi had the luxury to choose among the best talent available. Meritocracy, like in Argead Makedonia, persists. Merit, however, could mean different things for different men in power, depending on their goals. Polybios mentions that in his quest to secure his power in Alexandria the regent of the infant Ptolemaios V, Agathokles, found it advantageous to enrol conspirators in the court in order to eliminate his opposition. He thus, filled up the vacant places of the royal *philoi* by appointing servants and other attendants who were most remarkable for their effrontery and recklessness.[567]

An important change, which took place in the early Ptolemaic period as far as court ranks are concerned, is that the designation *hetairoi* disappears entirely.[568] They still exist in the Antigonid and Seleukid Kingdoms, but their presence is restricted to the military ranks.[569] The place of the *hetairoi* in the entourage of the Ptolemaic King is taken up by the *philoi* or *Friends*. The distinction between Companions and Friends is lost in Diodoros, Ploutarchos and the vulgate tradition but Arrianos seems careful to distinguish between the two different groups.[570] Apart from the Friends we encounter royal pages and *somatophylakes* (Bodyguards) frequenting the inner circles of the court.

In terms of ensuring compliance, the practice of the *dorea*, the donation of land to *philoi* of the rulers, continued well into the Ptolemaic era. The extent of the practice was so widespread among the Hellenistic Kingdoms in general that being a *philos* of a King was almost synonymous with being the recipient of a grant of land.[571] This was one way that the ties of interdependence between the ruler and his circle of courtiers were maintained. It deserves to be mentioned here that no extant source, however scarce they are, contains any reference as to any specific responsibilities the recipient might have in the face of the donor, other of course than the payment of the *phoros*.[572] It is interesting to note that in Ptolemaic Egypt the name *dorea* gradually came to denote the status of the land itself, becoming applicable to a whole category of domains on the king's land, singled out for preferential treatment on account of the relationship between the donor and the grantee.[573] It is no wonder then that men from all over the Hellenic world would flock to the courts of the Hellenistic rulers,

[567] Polyb. 15.25.
[568] See Mooren (1977).
[569] Both retained the name for their Cavalries. Hatzopoulos (2001).
[570] In Arrianos, the term *hetairoi* refers depending on the context either to the king's Companions in general, or to the Companion cavalry.
[571] Herman (1987), p. 106.
[572] *Contra* Herman (1987), p. 115. For the *phoros* see Chapter Four.
[573] Herman (1987), p. 108.

none the less so to the court of the Ptolemaioi, to find favour with the kings. Diodoros mentions that when Ptolemaios I took hold of the satrapy of Egypt a multitude of Friends gathered about him on account of his fairness.[574] This reference to Ptolemaios' fairness as a reason for joining his court hints at the subtle change, in some ways already in motion since Philippos II, of the term *philos* from a personal acquaintance of the ruler to a more technical designation, i.e. a title.[575] This seems inevitable as the wider the circle of Companions or Friends grew, the lesser the private interaction with the King. By consequence, the more necessary the struggle between courtiers to win his attention and favour would become.

The distinction between the functions that the aforementioned designations had to carry appears at best vague when one delves into the sources. Both in the case of Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt, instances where one can infer the structure of the hierarchical organisation of the court are almost exclusively connected with the military, even when the latter is participating in social events. The most indicative example dates from the Successor period. In a banquet offered by Peukestas, the *στρατηγός* of Persepolis, to the army of Eumenes in 317 BCE the participants were seated in four concentric circles radiating from the sacrificial altars dedicated to the gods, two of which were reserved for Philippos and Alexandros.[576] At the outermost circle, some ten *stadia* away from the centre,[577] sat the mercenaries and the multitude of the allies.[578] The penultimate outer circle was reserved for the *ἀργυράσπιδες* and the *ἑταῖροι* that had campaigned with Alexandros.[579] Holleaux makes a convincing suggestion that the *ἑταῖροι* in question would probably have been the infantrymen known as *πεζέταιροι*.[580] Second to the centre sat a variety of officials, including the so-called *δεύτεροι ἡγεμόνες*, and those of the *ἔξω τάξεως*, *φίλοι*, *στρατηγοί* and *ἱππεῖς*.[581] Last, but certainly not least, the innermost circle was populated by *στρατηγοί*, those in charge of the *ἱππαρχίαι*, and those of the Persians that were honoured above the rest.[582] If distance from the centre is an indicator of the level of importance of the particular groups then this banquet represents a clearly

[574] Diod. 18.14.1.
[575] So McKechnie (1989), p. 212.
[576] Diod. 19.22.1-23.1.
[577] Ten *stadia* equals to approximately 1.8km.
[578] "*..οἵ τε μισθοφόροι καὶ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος..*" In both cases, these appear to have been non-Makedones.
[579] "*..οἵ τε ἀργυράσπιδες Μακεδόνες καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύσαντες..*"
[580] Holleaux (1942), p. 10.
[581] "*..τῶν τε δευτέρων ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἔξω τάξεως [καὶ] φίλων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων..*"
[582] "*..οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰς ἱππαρχίας ἔχοντες, ἔτι δὲ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ μάλιστα τιμώμενοι..*"

delineated hierarchy, military affects being transferred to a social context. Regular soldiers were placed at the farthest ends.[583] In court, however, any gradations on the body of the Companions were imperceptible in terms of title. One can only assume that the highest ranks in the military belonged to those people at the peak of the king's esteem and accordingly at the peak of the court hierarchy. We could infer in this case that the *στρατηγοί* were the most trusted of the king's Companions, but it appears that court hierarchies were not fixed.

Another structure, which hints at a hierarchical organisation of the court was the matter of the accessibility of the king. The king could make himself scarce. How and when he chose to dispense with his physical presence was a source of political power in itself. It was a reasonable expectation in both the Argead and the early Hellenistic courts of people coming to the royal audiences from near and far to see the king in person. Ploutarchos preserves a telling anecdote from the reing of Philippos II, where an old woman rebuked him for referring the cases of most of those who had come to the audience. She told him that if he did not have the time to hear everyone out then he should not be king![584] However, by manipulating access to his person he could empower or rebuff, show favour or disfavour to whomever he pleased. In the Letter of Aristeas, Ptolemaios II, being anxious to meet the Jewish sages, dismissed all the other officials who had sought an audience with him. Aristeas mentions how this generated a general surprise, as there were prescribed waiting times before interested parties were admitted to the presence of the king. More specifically, urgent issues were addressed on the fifth day, while it was difficult for envoys from kings or very important cities to secure admission to the court before thirty days had passed. It was indicative of the height of Ptolemaios II's personal opinion for these particular guests that he admitted them immediately, at the expense of others who had waited their due time, but whose presence he regarded as superfluous.[585] Although audiences were part of the king's duties, their hearing depended on the disposition of the ruler. Alexandros made a point of hearing out all the embassies waiting for him in Babylon in 323 BCE,

[583] Another indication for hierarchy is the parade of the Xanthika: Hesychios s.v. *Ξανθικά* and *Souda* s.vv *Ἐναγίζων, Διαδρομαί*: "*ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ παρατάξει κινημάτων. καὶ ἥ γε ἵππος παρήλασε πρώτη εὐτάκτως τε καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ, εἶτα διῃρέθησαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπρόσωποι στάντες μαχομένων σχήματα ἐπεδείξαντο. κᾆτα ἐνόπλιοι διαδρομαί τινες ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐξελίξεις καὶ περίοδοι.*" See also the organisation of the marquee (*σκηνήν*) of Alexandros, Ath. *Deipn.* 12.539b-542b.
[584] Plout. *Mor.* 178f-179a, 179c Plout. *Dem.* 42.3-4.
[585] Aristeas §§174-175.

despite their large number, while Demetrios Poliorketes is alleged to have kept an Athenian embassy waiting for two whole years.[586]

Within the court ranks, access to the king was still not free.[587] The common soldiers had to wait outside of Alexandros III's tent in order to be escorted in by a *hetairos* or a *somatophylax*.[588] The *hetairoi* enjoyed more immediate access, but that could be discontinued at the will of the king.[589] The adoption of Persian court ceremonial and the imposition of Persian ushers in the royal quarters in 328 BCE upset the order of things to such an extent that Kleitos complained that the Makedones were now reduced to begging Persians in order to see their king.[590] By 324 BCE all this ceremony deteriorated further the immediacy the *hetairoi* enjoyed in the presence of the king. It was now said that "*the number of his friends and servants was so great, that no-one dared approach Alexandros*."[591]

The primary function of the *hetairoi* and *philoi* appears to have been roughly the same. As Tarn puts it both "*formed a pool on which* [the king] *drew for satraps, generals, and men to command on some special occasion or* [just] *to fill some new office*.[592] It seems as though anyone could be assigned to anything. An example of this inexistence of specialisation is recounted by Theopompos and is imbued in his customary bitterness. Agathokles, a slave of the penestae of Thessaly came into the service of Philippos II. He was an uncouth man and a flatterer yet Philippos dispatched him to destroy the Perrhaibioi *and*, once his military assignment was fulfilled, to take charge of affairs there.[593] This fluidity in the hierarchy was the result of non-existent specialisation. Successful completion of a mission could result in increased favour by the king and by extent increase in the influence of that person with the ruler. This is illustrated by the meteoric rise of some courtiers in the Ptolemaic period as well. A certain Skopas of Aetolia is said to have arrived in Alexandria destitute and within a span of three years he was commanding the entire Ptolemaic army.[594] This example serves to highlight the personal nature of the organisation of the human element of the Ptolemaic court.

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[586] Diod. 17.113.1-4. Plout. *Dem*. 42.1-2.
[587] Spawforth (2007), p. 108.
[588] 330 BCE: Curt. 6.7.17. 324 BCE: Arr. *Anab*. 4.13.7.
[589] Arr. *Anab*. 5.28.3.
[590] Plout. *Alex*. 51.
[591] Phylarchos, *FGrHist* 81 F 41.
[592] Tarn (1948), II, p.138.
[593] Ath. *Deipn*. 6.259f-260a.
[594] Porphyrios *FGrHist* 260 FF 45, 46.

Apart from carrying the king's commands at the price of some reciprocal compensation, the *philoi* also partook in the ruler's political power. This is particularly evident in the relationship between the *philoi* of the king and the Hellenistic cities, where association with them could provide a point of contact between the citizens and the king himself. *Philoi* were frequently honoured by the cities on account of their benefactions.[595] From the part of the ruler, according to Ma, the benefactions of the courtiers "*represent*[ed], *or camouflage*[ed], *power as benefaction, as a means to foster local quiescence*."[596] From the part of the cities though, the *philoi* could act as mediators between them and the king. Pelops, for instance, a garrison commander in Samos and *philos* of the Ptolemaic king, is also treated as the representative of royal political power on the island.[597] It is not infrequent that the *philoi* would cultivate ties with their city of origin.[598] An example is the exiled Spartan king Kleomenes who found refuge in the court of Ptolemaios III in Alexandria. The king accepted him into his circle of friends and even issued him with an annual stipend of 24 talanta, which Kleomenes used in order to maintain the compliance and loyalty of his own followers.[599] Equally, in the Argead period, the institution of *xenia* or guest-friendship also provided links between courtiers, cities and the ruler. Philippos II is said to have had a lot of *xenoi* in the Hellenic world, some of whose loyalty to him was so great that he could persuade them to betray their cities to him.[600] Overall, both the ruler and the cities looked to the courtiers for the middlemen who would represent the interests of the city to the ruler, and vice-versa.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that the royal court was a source of political power for the Makedonian ruler both in Argead Makedonia and in early Ptolemaic Egypt. This power stemmed from the successful centralised, institutionalised and territorialised

[595] See Ma (1996), pp. 179-242.
[596] Ma (1999), p. 238. See pp. 179-242 for a general discussion on the language of benefactions.
[597] *IG* XII 6.119.
[598] See Savalli-Lestrade (1996) and Mitchell (2009), pp. 15-24. Mitchell argues that the honours the *philoi* of the king received from the cities were given in order to reassert some control over their relationship with the king.
[599] Plout. *Kleomenes* 32.3.
[600] Diod. 16.54.2-4.

regulation of the social relations that formed between the ruler and his body of 'assistants.'[601] These assistants were there to aid with the communication, negotiation and representation of royal political power. Their role as mediators operating to extend royal power from the centre to the periphery and abroad made them indispensable to the ruler. The royal *hetaireia* stood at the core of the ruler's social network and, as such, "*at the heart of the Argead king's political power as long as he was able to keep their loyalty*."[602] Even if this designation disappears in the early Ptolemaic period, groups of *philoi* maintained this immediate working relationship with the ruler and formed his principal pool of human resources out of which administrative and military positions were staffed according to need.

In terms of change and continuity between the court structures of Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt, Elias believed that the "*individual's thoughts and emotions are embedded in bonds of social interdependence, and change in accordance with long-term changes in the overall structure of these bonds*."[603] In the case of the court societies in question their structure retained its fundamental characteristics. Its modus operandi based on personal interaction is evident first of all from the structure of the royal palaces, with their infinite emphasis on the quasi-official, quasi-informal role of banqueting as the cornerstone of social interaction on the court level. Secondly, the ad hoc criteria employed for the selection and advancement for members of the court, in both kingdoms depended on the disposition of the King, the personality of the candidate and the personal interaction between the two. Further, the ruler and courtiers were bound in ties of interdependence reinforced by their own self-interest. If the reciprocal obligations of loyalty and compliance procured in the face of some sort of irregular compensation (booty or land-grants) failed, then it was not a rare phenomenon that courtiers would switch their allegiances to other kings or that rulers would dispose of, in a manner not at all pleasurable, those in their entourage that were detrimental to their interests. The plunging of an insolent court poet into the sea in a cube of lead ordered by Ptolemaios II Philadelphos testifies to that.[604]

It was not until a structural change took place that the fluid hierarchy that characterised both Kingdoms became solidified into a stricter order around the close of the third century BCE. The change was effected by the gradual and imperceptible

[601] Mann (1986), p. 27.
[602] Mitchell (2009), p. 15.
[603] Elias (2006), p. ix.
[604] Sotades of Maroneia, see Launey (1945).

settling of the Ptolemaic monarchy into an established government, triggered principally by the need for the economic organisation of the Egyptian resources (land and grain). The rise of a more sophisticated bureaucracy than that present in Makedonia with its need for specialisation created the need for titles to go with the tasks. Epistolographers and hypomnematographers appear side by side with chief stewards (*archideatroi*) and chief 'door-keepers' (*archithyroros*). It was then also that the once personal and informal designation of 'friend' switched to the genitive, ('of the friends,') and became another rank among ranks.[605] The sheer need for more personnel to manage the bureaucratic structure eventually eroded the personal basis of social interaction between the ruler and his ever-expanding circle of courtiers and the hierarchy, for the same reason, had to become crystallised into a ranking order.

[605] See Mooren (1975).

"*δύο τε εἶναι λέγων τὰ τὰς δυναστείας παρασκευάζοντα καὶ φυλάσσοντα καὶ ἐπαύξοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα, καὶ ταῦτα δι' ἀλλήλων συνεστηκέναι*"

Julius Caesar, (Dio Cass. 42.49.4).

CHAPTER THREE: MILITARY POWER

There is nothing antiquated about Caesar's level-headed assessment that there are two vital things which created, preserved and reinforced sovereignties: soldiers and money, each of which depended heavily on the other. Cicero was of the same opinion when he declared in his Fifth Philippic that an infinite supply of money formed the sinews of war.[606] The pragmatic realisation that money (or its historical equivalents) and soldiers were the two most coveted resources in the hands of aspiring rulers did not escape individuals in the ancient world any less that it does in the modern.[607] Elias argued that armies and revenues were the two most decisive sources of power for a ruler. If monopoly control over either of the two ceased, then control over the other eventually and unavoidably disappeared as well.[608] Put simply, armies were raised in order to safeguard the already existing wealth of a political unit and to augment it by encroaching on the sovereignty and resources of neighbouring communities. In this light, military efficiency was the chief political concern of rulers. As the maintenance of armies is a costly affair, this vicious circle came to a halt only with the advent of the welfare state in the twentieth century, which displaced the conduct of war as the chief expense of a political unit.[609]

Military capabilities have been invariably associated with power ever since the rise of the notion of ownership caused the early Neolithic pastoralists and agriculturalists to clash over stretches of land, the repeated use of which induced a

[606] Cic. *Philip*. 5.5: "...*nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam*…" Admittedly, in the contemporary world lesser emphasis is placed on investing in manpower rather than on scientific research in the armaments industry.

[607] Cf. the writings of the eighteenth century American republican writer Joel Barlow against professional armies: "Thus money is required to levy armies, and armies to levy money; and foreign wars are introduced as the pretended occupation for both," (repr. 1956), p. 95. Compare Ferguson (2001), who argues that human action in history is motivated by more than economic concerns.

[608] Elias (2006), p. 151, (2000), pp. 268-277.

[609] Cf. Ferguson (2001). For the Hellenistic states, see Austin (1986). Cf. Pl. *Rep*. 2.373d-e.

strong sense of entitlement and, hence, hostility for trespassers.[610] Although theories of primary state formation (i.e. the transition from a non-state entity or society into a state) have veered away from purely militaristic explanations, it is generally accepted that *once* a political entity was formed, warfare constituted one of the central motors of its development.[611] The history of the expansion of the Makedonian state is one such tale of displacement and military conquest.[612] Originating from the mountainous areas west of Mount Vermion in Pieria, where they practiced transhumant pastoralism, the Makedonian tribes expanded some time during the seventh century BCE to the Eastern lowlands south of the Haliakmon River.[613] By that time they must have united under the leadership of the tribe called Argeadai, whose king was Perdikkas I.[614] The process was not peaceful and as the Kingdom extended towards the Axios by the end of the sixth century, several indigenous populations (Pierians, Bottiaians, Edonians, Almopians) had been driven out or exterminated.[615] The overtaking of settled agricultural communities by a militarily superior warring tribe is implied in most versions of the Makedonian foundation myth. Perdikkas I, wishing to enlarge his kingdom, was instructed by the oracle of Apollon at Delphoi to seek out

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[610] See Keegan (1994), pp. 122-123.

[611] The conquest theories of Oppenheimer (1999, pp. 1-21, esp. p. 15) and others (see further Service 1975, pp. 270-273, Mann 1986, pp. 54-57), which argue that the origins of the state lay solely in war, are not supported by the archaeological or anthropological record. For the transformation of simple political units to complex states through warfare, see Carneiro (1970). His "Circumscription Theory," which is widely respected, describes how environmental constraints coupled with population pressures and warfare lead to complex state formation.

[612] Edson (1970), Hammond (1983).

[613] According to Hesiodos, our earliest reference on the region of Makedonia, it was around Pieria and the sacred mountain Olympos that the mythological eponymous ancestors of the Makedones, Magnes and Makedon, dwelled, Hes. *Catalogue of Women* (*Ἠοῖαι*) F 7. Thouk. 2.99 reports a succinct history of the territorial expansion of the Makedones up until the invasion of the Makedonian Kingdom by the Thrakian king Sitalkes in 429 BCE. Alongside the foundation myth provided by Herodotos 8.137-138, these two accounts constitute largely the only narrative we have of the early development of the Makedonian kingdom. The date for the earliest expansion can be inferred from Diod. 7.15. Other evidence is treated in Hammond (1989), p. 8. For archaeological and ethno-archaeological evidence regarding the practice of transhumant pastoralism in Upper Makedonia, see Chang & Tourtellotte (1993), Appendix C no 1. Further evidence for the pastoral economy of the Makedones comes from the observation made by Hammond (1989) that the major Makedonian festivals coincided with the autumn and spring migrations, p. 6.

[614] Str. 7a.1.11: "*τούτων δὲ πάντων οἱ Ἀργεάδαι καλούμενοι κατέστησαν κύριοι*." App. *Syr.* 333 places the origin of the Argeadai tribe in Argos of Orestis. It is interesting to relate that this is where Karanos (the earliest recorded king of Makedonia originating from Argos in the Peloponnesos) established his rule, having received half of the Kingdom of Orestis, which lay west of Mount Vermion, as recompense for the military aid he offered to the Orestian King against his neighbours, the Eordaioi, Diod. 17.5. For conflicting views on the origin of the royal house of the Argeadai, see Hammond (1989), pp. 16-19 with references and Borza (1992), pp. 80-84. Borza's basic distrust of Herodotos and Thoukydides as uncritical transmitters of Makedonian propaganda does not consitute strong grounds for dismissing a recurring theme in contemporary sources (cf. Isok. *Φίλιππος* 5.32, 5.105-112).

[615] Thouk. 2.99, Diod. 7.15.

the land of Bottiaia, which was rich in sheep (*πολύμηλον*), and to establish his capital in the flatlands there (*ἐν δαπέδοις*).[616] In Herodotos' earlier account, the three brothers had set off from the Gardens of Midas (probably Mieza) to 'trample on' (*κατεστρέφοντο*) the rest of Makedonia.[617] The expansion of Makedonian sovereignty reached its zenith with Alexandros III's near-universal dominion of the known world. His achievement was a testament to the extent of Makedonian military power, in terms of both logistical organisation and its ideological hold on those participating in its hierarchy. The Egyptian satrapy of Ptolemaios I was itself a product of expansionary warfare, its territory having been won by the spear. In the ensuing havoc of the Successor Wars it was imperative that military power was sustained, increased and even flaunted, not only for defence and expansion, but also for prestige. And indeed it was, as the early Ptolemaioi never seemed to lag far behind in the Hellenistic arms race.[618]

As a testament to the flexibility of citizen-status in Argead Makedonia and the economic prosperity that came with the successful management of natural resources, the size of the Makedonian army in the fourth and third centuries BCE grew from respectable to impressive in the span of less than a quarter of a century. In 358 BCE Philippos II took ten thousand infantry and six hundred horsemen against Bardylis.[619] When Alexandros III embarked on the Asian campaign in 334 BCE, he was at the head of 32.000 infantry, of which 12.000 were Makedonian phalangites, and 5.100 cavalry.[620] He could also spare twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horsemen to leave behind, under the command of his regent, Antipatros.[621] Narratives of the subsequent major battles raised the count to an average of 40.000 infantry and 6-7.000 cavalry.[622] In stark contrast, territorial and economic constraints, and the

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[616] Diod. 7.16, *AG App. Oracula* epigr. 88. See also Just. 7.1.1. For the complete rejection of the various versions of the oracles as Makedonian pro-Hellenic propaganda, see Borza (1982), pp. 11-13. His minimalist approach, however, undermines the value of Diodoros' passage as an aitiological myth, a *vaticinium ex eventu* legitimising the simple facts of Makedonian expansion.
[617] Hdt. 8.138.3. See *LSJ* s.v. *καταστρέφω*.
[618] Casson (1971), esp. App. 2.
[619] Diod. 16.4.3.
[620] Diod. 17.17.3-4.
[621] Diod. 17.17.5.
[622] Figures according to estimates from the three major battles of the Expedition: Granikos, Issos and Gaugamela. The main sources are: for Granikos, Arr. *Anab.* 1.12-16; Diod. 17.19-21; Plout. *Alex.* 16; Just. 11.6.10-15. For Issos, Arr. *Anab.* 2.7-11; Curt. 3.8-11; Diod. 17.32-34; Plout. *Alex.* 20; Just. 11.9. For Gaugamela, Arr. *Anab.* 3.8-15, Curt. 4.9, 12-16; Diod. 17.56-61; Plout. *Alex.* 32-33. Plout. *Alex.* 66.2 mentions that after the conquest of India Alexandros army numbered 120.000 infantry and 15.000 horse. However, such a number probably includes the entire train of attendants, as the Makedonian army in the Battle of the Hydaspes river is estimated again between 30-40.000 foot,

exclusivity of citizen-status, prescribed that the classical and early Hellenistic city-state could only muster at best ten thousand men in the field.[623] Not hindered by the logistics of long-distance campaigning, which forced Alexandros to keep his army numbers lower than he could afford, the Successors made full use of the Persian royal monies that came their way and raised the stakes considerably.[624] From 18.000 infantry and 4.000 cavalry at the Battle of Gaza in 312 BCE, the Ptolemaic army grew to deploy 70.000 foot soldiers and 6.000 mounted officers in the Battle of Raphia in 217 BCE.[625] Additionally, technological innovations increased the efficiency of siege warfare, already popular with Philippos II, and advancements in naval engineering gave rise to fleets as large and elaborate as that of Ptolemaios Philadelphos, which comprised 4.000 vessels.[626] Finally, the addition of elephants in the army ranks provided an indispensable heavyweight prerequisite for combat.[627] Alexandros started collecting enemy elephants at the Battle of Gaugamela and ultimately had so many beasts that a separate office was created for the men in charge of the elephant units (*ἐλεφαντάρχης*).[628] The Successors made extensive use of these contingents and went to great lengths to maintain a steady supply. Ptolemaios II had elephants shipped up the Nile in specially designed boats, while some other of the animals even found their way to Epeiros.[629] The size of armies, however, and their tactical effectiveness in battle are not the only determinants of the military power of a political unit.

Inasmuch as warfare dominated the history of both Argead Makedonia and the Kingdoms created after the dissolution of Alexandros III's empire, very few scholars

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Delbrück (1990), p. 220. Anything larger than that would have been impossible to advance as rapidly as Alexandros' army did, see Engels (1978), esp. table 7, pp. 153-156. Reinforcements that could raise the total of Alexandros' army to a hundred thousand arrived after the decision to start the march home, Diod. 17.95.4, Curt. 9.3.21, see Engel (1978), table 6, p. 150.

[623] For superiority of Philippos II's army in the Battle of Chaironeia, see Diod. 16.85.6-7. For city-state armies see indicatively the Battle of Marathon, where the Athenians sent between 7.000-9.000 men out of a total force of 10.000 (Just. 2.9, Corn. Nep. *Milt.* 5) and the Battle at Plataiai, where the Spartans put to the field the highest number of soldiers (10.000) of all the participants on the Hellenic side (Hdt. 9.28.2). For the Lamian War of 323/322 BCE Athens managed to enrol even less than that, Diod. 18.11.3.

[624] For the newly-acquired Persian wealth, see App. C nos 58, 61, 62, 65, 69.

[625] For Gaza, see Diod. 19.82-84, for Raphia, see Polyb. 5.79.2.

[626] For Makedonian siege warfare, see Kern (1999), pp. 197-428. Ath. *Deipn.* 5.230d. On Ptolemaic maritime development, see Lianou (2007).

[627] Paus. 1.12.3, Polyb. 5.79-86, see also Scullard (1974).

[628] Arr. *Anab*. 3.15.6, Plout. *Demetr*. 25.4. For the elephant force of Ptolemaios I, see Casson (1993), pp. 247-248.

[629] *ἐλεφαντηγός*: Agatharch. *Περί τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης Ἐκλογαί* 83. See Casson (1993), with further references. For the elephants of Pyrrhos, see Plout. *Pyrr*. 15, 17.

have attempted explicitly to integrate war and military power into the study of these societies, and in particular to the institution of kingship.[630] The major proponent of this type of 'integrationism' is Austin.[631] His starting point was a critique of the one-sidedness of viewing warfare purely as a destructive, non-productive force. Without detracting from its negative aspects he stressed instead its social and economic dimensions. His study of the relationship between kingship, warfare, and the Hellenistic economy explored the inevitable link between military objectives and the pursuit of economic power. Following his example, recent scholarship has also devoted attention to the social dynamics between the king, his high command and the ordinary soldiers.[632] The shift from a purely military history to one that integrates warfare in the economic, social and ideological fabric of the Hellenistic way of life is manifest in the work of Chaniotis, which is intended as an introduction to the subject of warfare in the Hellenistic period.[633] Surprisingly, there is not a single chapter devoted to tactics or weapons, while the emphasis lies on the consequences of war in shaping Hellenistic social life and culture. In contrast, the bulk of Makedonian military history is still largely limited to the study of strategy and battle tactics, army numbers and logistics.[634] Although there is substantial bibliography on the existence and political function of an Army Assembly dating back to the nineteenth century, discussions on the role of the army in shaping the military power of the king are rare.[635] Scholarship on Ptolemaic Egypt seems to have been kept better abreast of the 'integrationist' approach to military history. Although much of the scholarly output on Ptolemaic warfare, and in particular its army, still focuses mainly on its tactical organisation and the ethnic composition of its ranks, there have been attempts to

[630] See Ducrey (2002) on the recent state of scholarship regarding the study of armies. His edited volume (2002), alongside Chaniotis, is the only book to date which deals explicitly with the relationship between army and power. However, neither Argead Makedonia nor Ptolemaic Egypt are treated.
[631] Austin (1986).
[632] Weber G. (1997, 2009). For the king and the army, see Billows (1995), pp. 11-32, Heckel (2009).
[633] Chaniotis (2005).
[634] Fuller (1958), Engels (1978), Ashley (1998). An exception is Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 443-460, (2001b). Based on the latest epigraphic evidence, he examined the political relationship between the king and his recruits. Despite the fact that most of the relevant evidence dates from the Antigonid period, Hatzopoulos includes insightful discussions on the training and recruitment of young adults, which bear many similarities with the Ptolemaic Kingdom.
[635] The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare includes only a cursory treatment of Makedonian warfare in the times of Philippos II and Alexandros III, which serves as an introduction to the Hellenistic period, Serrati (2007). For the army assembly, see Adams (1986) with references.

integrate the army within the broader social context, especially at the lower strata.[636] From a top-down perspective, biographies of individual kings, abundant for Philippos II and his son but surprisingly scarce on the Ptolemaic side, accentuate the function of the king as a military leader by emphasizing his prowess in battle as a key element for successful kingship.[637] In doing so, the military power of the king is taken to represent a de facto corollary of kingship. However, this is done without any further qualification than the realist assumption that 'might is right' and that in a monarchical environment, the personal characteristics of the king are those that determine the success or failure of the uses of military power. Personal charisma, in all its Weberian overtones, which furthers the conviction of followers, but also galvanises support from non-followers, is a key element in this approach.[638]

Souda's definition of kingship is often quoted to illustrate the personal nature of Makedonian (Argead and Hellenistic) kingship.[639] According to the tenth century CE compiler a Hellenistic king had to be wise, as it was only the wise that could maintain kingship without accountability, an intelligent administrator and able to lead an army. A weak king would not have been able to sustain his hold on his kingdom, even if he deserved it by virtue of descent.[640] Without detracting from this definitional relationship between kingship and the exercise of military power, this chapter will seek to complement the work of 'integrationists' by exploring the relationship between military power and kingship in Argead Makedonia and early Ptolemaic Egypt. More specifically, it will examine those structures that sustained the military power of the monarchies in question and the power networks that stemmed from them. As military power does not manifest itself only in the conduct of war (offensive, defensive or civil), the military objectives of the ruler involved both foreign and domestic policy. The

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[636] For ethnic composition, see Lesquier (1911), Launey (1949-1950) and most recently, Marrinan (1998) and Blasius (2001). For a treatment of tactical organisation, see Sekunda (1995). For the place of the army in Ptolemaic society, see Fischer-Bovet (2007, 2008).

[637] For Hellenistic kingship in general, see Préaux (1978). For Philippos II, see more recently Worthington (2008), with bibliography. Similarly for Alexandros III, see Cartledge (2004), Heckel & Tritle (2009). For Ptolemaios I, see the very short and somewhat sketchy, yet only, biography of Ellis (1994). For Ptolemaios VIII, see Nadig (2007).

[638] See Eisenstadt (1968). A buoyant example of this approach is Cawkwell (1978), who asserted that the unification of Makedonia under Philippos II was successful due to the emotional attraction of the new subjects towards the king, p. 38.

[639] Walbank (1984), p. 63.

[640] "*Βασιλεία ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχή. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σπουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας. ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος, ἥτις περὶ μόνους ἂν τοὺς σοφοὺς συσταίη. Βασιλεία. οὔτε φύσις οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδιδοῦσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἡγεῖσθαι στρατοπέδου καὶ χειρίζειν πράγματα νουνεχῶς: οἷος ἦν Φίλιππος καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι Ἀλεξάνδρου. τὸν γὰρ υἱὸν κατὰ φύσιν οὐδὲν ὠφέλησεν ἡ συγγένεια διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀδυναμίαν. τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν προσήκοντας βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι σχεδὸν ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης*," *Souda* s.v. *Βασιλεία* b147.

organisation of each sustained networks of individuals and groups, the collaboration of which was necessary for the implementation of the ruler's authority. The focus of this chapter will not rest on logistical considerations, army sizes or tactical efficiency. The capacity for physical force (manifested by the above, as well as the maintenance of an effective striking range) is the obvious quantifiable index of military power. However, there are additional, subtler conditions that contributed to the perceived extent of a King's military power. It will be argued that this power did not emanate by virtue of the royal *axioma* alone in relation to the resources that kings could muster at any given time, nor did it depend on their personal charisma alone. Each on their own, these factors do not explain why groups of people tend to comply to the orders of a monarch, nor can they elucidate why military success is for those groups such an important determinant of successful kingship. It will be maintained that an approach towards the study of royal military power is more akin to the understanding of those mechanisms that enabled the ruler to command a high level of commitment from his subjects in regard to his military objectives and facilitated the continued monopolisation of physical force. It will be shown that in practice, the exercise of physical force by the monarch was sustained via the existence of supportive institutions and social structures that will be referred to as 'enabling mechanisms.' These can be found ingrained in the structures of the particular society that is under the rule of one. They include the ideology of the monarchy that was exercised and the role of military leadership within it, and the integration of facets of military organisation and military values within society (e.g. the institution of the *klerouchia* and the type of education that was advanced for the youth). In the process the discussion will attempt to determine whether the structures of military organisation remained discernibly similar between the two kingdoms or whether the experience of Alexandros' conquest and the subsequent Ptolemaic rule over former Pharaonic/Persian Egypt contributed to the creation of a new version of this association.

Before we embark on this discussion, however, it is essential to define military power and address the different levels of its organisation within a monarchical régime.

MILITARY POWER, ITS ORGANISATION, AND THE MONARCHICAL STATE

Military power in a monarchy can be defined as the organised form of physical force, monopolised by an individual (the king) whose authority is considered legitimate by his subjects. It mobilises violence, whether actual or inferred, in order to regulate foreign policy and maintain internal stability. Far from co-existing in an entirely lawless world system, where diplomacy was shunned, ancient political entities nonetheless lacked the sophistication of 'soft' tools of attraction or persuasion that appear so often in the rhetoric and practice of modern states.[641] They also lacked the resoluteness to grant them priority over the 'hard' solution of armed conflict, even though it has been said that certain rulers, such as Philippos II, prided themselves more for their diplomatic tact than their military genius.[642] Although informal customs and norms were in place aimed at regulating unwarranted aggression and the conduct of war, the mechanisms for enforcing compliance were weak.[643] The monarchies were not exempt from observing these diplomatic niceties.[644] However, the more powerful the state, the harder it was to subject it to interstate intervention through practices such as mediation and arbitration.[645] In both the Classical and the Hellenistic period the system remained a multi-actor militarised anarchy, with various states vying for hegemony at any given time.[646] By enlarging the size of territorial states, the dissolution of Alexandros' empire simply upped the scale of war. In such a

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641 The distinction between 'hard' (coercion) and 'soft' (persuasion) power was made by Nye (1990). Needless to note here that 'soft' power has its failings (suffices to observe the struggle of a soft-power oriented EU to mark its presence in the international arena, see Lianos 2008). The reasons behind the failure of soft power can be revealed through its realist and neo-realist criticism, whereby the only truly significant motivations behind any political action are economic incentives and the threat of force, Ferguson (2004). So Giddens (1985) p. 326, who has argued that there exists no plausible 'dialectical counterpart' to the progressive accumulation of military power.

642 Diod. 16.95.

643 For the existence in the ancient world of a common idea that interstate relations were based on the rule of law, see Bederman (2001). Low (2007) argues for a greater role of diplomatic tools in interstate relations, backed by a complex system of moral obligations and considerations. However, notwithstanding the partial regulation of interstate relations through shared normative behaviour, recourse to war as a first resort was a frequent phenomenon (as Low herself admits, pp. 108-109). It certainly seemed like that to Platon (*Laws* 1.626a) when he stated that all poleis are by nature at an undeclared war with each other, (*τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πάσαις πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀεὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι*). See further Eckstein (2006), pp. 42-48. For examples of transgressions of interstate agreements, see Eckstein (2006), p. 80.

644 Ploutarchos recorded that by and large Alexandros observed the normal usages of war as would befit a king, Plout. *Alex.* 59.6-7. See also Dem. *Ἐπιστολὴ* [Φιλίππου] 12.3-4.

645 Ager (1996), Eckstein (2006), pp. 79-80, n. 1.

646 Eckstein (2006). Adcock & Mosley (1975) identified the most common causes of warfare in the ancient world as territorial ownership and rights of access, p. 128. The term 'militarised' refers to the widespread belief in the period that a state should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote its interests, *OED* s.v. *militarism*.

system, when it came to defending or expanding sovereignties, or even maintaining an uneasy balance of power during peacetime, military power was the lifeline of the ancient state: *aut vincam, aut periam*.

According to Mann, military power exhibits an authoritative organisation. This means that, unlike diffused power which occurs more or less spontaneously and informs the relations of social groups on the understanding that the power relations that emerge between them are natural, moral or based on common interests, authoritative power is a product of *intent* by individuals, groups and institutions and elicits conscious compliance from those affected.[647] As such, it manifests itself both on an intensive and an extensive level. On the one hand, intensive organisation involves the concentrated power of a military commander vis-à-vis his inferiors. This results in the extraction of high levels of mobilisation from the army and is mainly responsible for the ability to flex effectively the military muscle of the state during campaigns. Obedience to the commander, who in the case of the kingdoms in question is the king himself, can be the result of material rewards, such as land or booty, as well as the realities of battle itself that bring out the charismatic qualities of a leader.[648] However, in a monarchical environment, as we have already seen in the previous chapters, these incentives are only complementary to the loyalty engendered by the perceived legitimacy of the ruler to wield the customary powers that went part and parcel with his inherited *axioma*.

On the other hand, extensive military organisation describes the ability to control groups of people spread over a wide geographical area in order to secure their minimal co-operation.[649] As pacification tends to decentralise military power, this is especially relevant for the post-conquest organisation of the state. A militaristic empire, which is Mann's example of extensive organisation, makes use of coercive methods for the purpose of maintaining compliance. This model of compulsory co-operation, or concentrated coercion as Mann calls it, is a strategy based on the repression of subject populations with the aim of extracting compulsory labour. At the same time, it is argued that the army assumes a protective/controlling role under which trade and the economic development of the state could flourish.[650] This organisation does not find its parallel in Argead Makedonia. There was no standing

[647] Mann (1986), p. 8.
[648] So Walbank (1984), p. 74.
[649] Mann (1986), p. 7.
[650] Mann (1986), pp. 148-155.

army until the reign of Philippos II and even then there is no evidence to suggest that any designated military force was deployed to regulate internal affairs. As the product of conquest, the organisation of early Ptolemaic Egypt was more heavily militarised. Soldiers were forcefully settled in the land or billeted in private homes.[651] Garrisons that evolved into towns were planted in the Egyptian *chora* and other locations that fell under the sphere of influence of the Ptolemaic empire. Finally, the appearance of a sophisticated police force evolved, which was responsible for establishing and maintaining order according to the precepts of the central authority. Even so, the predominant manner in which the decentralisation of military power manifested itself in both kingdoms involved the creation of economic interdependencies between the military personnel and the central authority, which took the form of land grants in exchange for military service.[652]

Alongside the authoritative organisation of military power, one also finds elements of diffused organisation. Mann discusses the coerced spread of the conqueror's culture (such as their language, script and one might add the system of education) as a strategy for providing further power supports to the state.[653] But not all extensive organisation needs to be coercive. One need only consider in this context the cultivation of solidarities among the subject/citizen populations and between them and the central government. Originally intended to optimise efficiency in the battlefield by boosting local patriotism, they were carried over into the organisation of the pacified society. The Makedonian practice to group soldiers from the same place of origin together in ethnic regiments is one such example. This system survived in early Ptolemaic Egypt, even if the designations ultimately lost their ethnic significance and came to have specific military connotations.[654] The gradual loss of pure ethnics in Ptolemaic Egypt meant that the indigenous population was progressively more integrated in the military organisation of the Kingdom. One of the effects of integration through shared identities, even if constructed, is that compliance to and support of the military agenda of the monarchy may be sustained without the need for coercion.

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[651] *C. Ord. Ptol.* 1, 5-10: a series of royal *diagrammata* dating from the reign of Ptolemaios II stipulating that one half of the billeted house belonged to the billeter and the other half to the billetee.
[652] Mann (1986), pp. 143-144.
[653] Mann (1986), p. 152.
[654] Fischer-Bovet (2008), pp. 84-105.

It becomes clear from the above discussion that the relationship between military power and the monarchy is far more complex than the simple inventory of the forces and technology at its disposal. What follows is an analysis of the three areas identified as key for the sustenance of royal military power: the role of the king as a military commander, the social integration of facets of military organisation and finally the promotion of military values through education.

MECHANISM NO 1: MILITARY LEADERSHIP

ROYAL MILITARY LEADERSHIP IN ITS INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT

As already stated in the introduction to this chapter, military power has been associated with state-building and state-preservation.[655] Although it is now generally accepted that the rise of the state was largely stimulated by environmentally circumscribed conditions that 'caged' populations of a particular area into greater co-operation, the preservation of its assets against foreign conquest and raids required a military force that was organised centrally, as opposed to laterally.[656] The sustained need for this type of military organisation contributed to the transformation of seasonal warlords into kings.[657]

The centrality of military organisation within the scope of royal duties and the pivotal role of military power in the practice of government are unmistakeable in the writings of contemporary thinkers. In his discussion of the six types of constitution of his time Aristoteles divided kingship into five sub-categories. What is worth noting in terms of the relationship of the ruler and military power is that in three of them, namely the 'Spartan', the 'heroic' and the 'absolute' kingship, the ruler is explicitly set apart as the supreme commander of the military.[658] In the case of the dual kingship at Sparta, which Aristoteles described as a lifelong generalship, the kings, although not sovereign in all areas of social life, were granted absolute authority in times of war. Similarly, the heroic king had supremacy over military affairs, even when in due course he was forced by historical circumstance to relinquish his religious and judicial

[655] See the discussion in Mann (1986), pp. 53-58.
[656] Carneiro (1970), Mann (1986).
[657] Other factors contributed to the rise of kingship, such as the need for the central organisation of the political unit's economic resources and surplus. For the routinisation of authority, see Weber M. (1978), pp. 245-256.
[658] Aristot. *Pol.* (Spartan) 3.1285a 4-6, (heroic) 3.1285b 3-5, (absolute) 3.1285b 29-33.

authority to the people. Lastly, it follows by definition that the king who ruled absolutely had sovereignty over all aspects of social life, including the military.

For the remaining two sub-categories of kingship, Aristoteles' choice of analogies and examples demonstrates that the organisation of military affairs fell equally within the realm of responsibilities of the 'barbarian' and of the 'elective' king. For the first instance, Aristoteles equated barbarian kingship with tyrannical rule.[659] Elsewhere in his *Politics* he made the claim that early tyrants were typically generals, who seized control of a political unit because of their ability to wield military power against the *status quo*.[660] The history of Archaic Hellas provides enough examples to support his argument.[661] In the case of elective monarchy the *aisymnetai* (*αἰσυμνήται*) were leaders elected irregularly by the people in times of crisis. The power they were bestowed with at that time was unrestricted. It was a sort of elected tyranny as Aristoteles put it, albeit it was more often the case that the supremacy of such leaders lasted only until the diffusion of the crisis that brought about their appointment.[662] The example that Aristoteles presented places emphasis on the military prowess of the prospective *aisymnetes* as a prerequisite for the position: Pittakos was already a celebrated warrior when he was chosen by the people of Mytilene to oppose by force of arms the return of the exiled aristocratic party, which vied for the control of the island.[663] We observe therefore that in all the variants of Aristoteles' conception of kingship the organisation of military power is consistently present among the duties of the king. Irrespective of whether a monarchy is temporary or lifelong, hereditary or elective, extended over willing or unwilling subjects, and whether the king reigned with a carte blanche or constrained by the dictates of law, he was *expected* to lead the army in conquest and to have ultimate authority in matters of military organisation.

Military power was also perceived to have a sinister side to it, as its abuse could effectively alter the government of a political unit. It was recognised that the

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[659] Aristot. *Pol.* 3.1285a 23, "*τυραννικαὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτόν εἰσιν…*"
[660] Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1305a 7-14, 5.1313b.
[661] E.g. Kypselos, the tyrant of Korinthos, expelled the ruling family of the Bacchiadai (Polyain. *Strat.* 5.31) by making use of his position as polemarchos, and thus of his command over the military resources of Korinthos, (Nikolaos of Damaskos *FGrHist* 90 F 58). The importance of military power for prospective tyrants can be exemplified most strongly through numbers: Scheidel (2005) has estimated that roughly two thirds (70%) of those who established themselves as tyrants in archaic and classical Hellas did so through their capacity as military commanders or through their leadership in a violent coup, (p. 9, using Berve's 1967 study of 41 tyrants in ancient Hellas).
[662] Although we encounter the *aisymnetai* as magistrates (e.g. *IG* VII.15 from Megara *c.* 192-159 BCE) or overseers (Theok. *Eid.* 25.48), Dionysios of Halikarnassos compared the nature of their duties with those of a Roman dictator (*Ant. Rom.* 5.73).
[663] See Diog. Laert. 1.74-75.

preponderance or monopoly in organising the military capabilities of a political unit widened the access of the ruler to other types of power, such as economic or political. Aristoteles acknowledged the fact that whoever held the power of arms held indeed the power to change the constitution.[664] For Platon rule through a warrior class, which monopolised physical force, signified the failure of the ideal state, governed by the best of men (aristocracy). However, in its pure form, namely until the inevitable manipulation of military power in order to achieve economic objectives, this warriors' government was characterised by the noble pursuit of honour (timocracy).[665] Aristoteles' ethnographic research pointed to similar conclusions. He observed that in certain political units, especially ones that were strong enough to expand their control over neighbouring units, domination (*κρατεῖν*) was an end in itself and the system of education and laws were framed in such a way so as to regulate war. In those societies, military power was held in high esteem and was associated with honour.[666] Interestingly, the majority of the examples he quoted were monarchies and Argead Makedonia was one of them.[667]

The Argead and Ptolemaic monarchies do not fit comfortably into one of the Aristotelian sub-categories. In the Argead case, divergence in opinion is caused mainly by the scarcity and multifarious nature of the extant evidence, which allows for a variety of different interpretations. Aristoteles, although intimately connected with the Makedonian monarchy, imparted very little, maintaining what can only be described as a paradoxical silence. He was after all a native of northern Hellas, having been born in Stageira, a city in Chalkidike neighbouring the Makedonian realm at the time.[668] His father, Nikomachos, was a physician at Amyntas III's' court, and also, according to some sources, the King's personal friend.[669] Having spent his childhood and adolescence, possibly even within the Makedonian court itself by virtue of his father's position, he left for Athens at the age of sixteen or seventeen only to return to

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[664] Aristot. *Pol.* 7.1329a: "*οἱ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων κύριοι καὶ <τοῦ> μένειν ἢ μὴ μένειν κύριοι τὴν πολιτείαν*."
[665] In the *Nikomacheian Ethics* (1160a 33-34) Aristoteles used the term in a different sense, denoting "the rule of those who possess a property qualification." Pl. *Rep.* 8.545b-549b.
[666] Aristot. *Pol.* 7.1324b.
[667] So the Spartans, Skythians, Persians, Thrakians, Kelts, Carthagenians and Iberians, with the exception of the Kretans, Aristot. *Pol.* 7.1324b 7-26.
[668] Stageira was a member of the Chalkidian League around the time of Aristoteles' birth, (384 BCE). It was razed to the ground by Philippos II in 348 BCE. It was later re-founded and incorporated into the Makedonian national territory either shortly after the dissolution of the League (348 BCE) or during Alexandros' reign. See Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 190-191, 196, 198 with references.
[669] Diog. Laert. 5.1. For relevant references from the dozen extant biographies of Aristoteles see Chroust, (1972), p. 367, nn. 5, 6.

Pella at the invitation of Philippos II to undertake the education of his thirteen-year old son, Alexandros.[670] Such was his standing with the King that an anecdote preserved by Diogenes Laertios recounts how Philippos II re-built Stageira at the entreaty of the philosopher.[671] Aristoteles tutored Alexandros for three years. After this tuition was over he did not leave for Athens but probably settled once again in his native Stageira until soon after the death of Philippos II.[672] It is unfortunate that a man with such a deep first-hand knowledge and understanding of the workings of the Makedonian monarchy, and whose surviving work takes up the space of no less than two and a half thousand pages, has left us with so little on the subject of Makedonian political organisation.[673]

Some of the most prominent scholars of ancient Makedonian history have argued that the kingdom of the Argeadai fell under Aristoteles' fourth category of kingship, the heroic.[674] This type of kingship was characterised by the hereditary legal rule over consenting subjects that was typical of Homeric society and in which the ruler was also the commander of the army.[675] Others have suggested that Makedonian kingship resembled closely to the Indo-European type of military kingship, otherwise known as *Heerkönigtum*.[676] Rule was based on the consent of a circle of nobles and the army to follow a charismatic leader into conquest. For both hypotheses, however, there is room for objections. Starting with the latter, it has already been shown in the first chapter that although no strict rule of primogeniture applied, the Makedonian ruler had to entertain familial connections to the Argead

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[670] 343-335 BCE, Diog. Laert. 5.4.3-5, Cl. Ael. *VH* 3.17.43-44.
[671] Diog. Laert. 5.4.4-5.
[672] The tuition finished when Alexandros was appointed regent in 340 BCE. Aristoteles returned to Athens in 335/4 BCE, (for references see Chroust, 1972, n. 34).
[673] We do possess two of his Letters to Philippos and two to Alexandros. There are, judging by their titles, two more promising works regarding Makedonian political institutions which are, however, lost to us: *Alexandros or Regarding Colonists* (*Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀποίκων*), and *On Monarchy* (*Περὶ βασιλείας*), probably written for Alexandros during his tutelage, (Diog. Laert. 5.22, the work was written for Alexandros according to [Ammonios] *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarius* Ven. 1546, folio 5b, 9b IN: Ross (1952), p. 65]. The former was a treatise on how to plant colonies. Letters he wrote to other political figures such as Antipatros, but also to members of the King's entourage such as Olympias and Hephaisteion, have equally been lost (Diog. Laert. 5.27). Another intriguing explanation for this lack of reference to the Makedonian monarchy has been put forward by Miller (1998). He argues that Aristoteles' position in Athens after the death of Alexandros in 323 BCE was precarious enough to require his silence in most matters Makedonian. Anti-Makedonian feeling was soaring high and Aristoteles' Makedonian connections could easily put him on the spot as a partisan of the monarchy/enemy. According to some of his biographies, Aristoteles complained to Antipatros in his Letter to the regent that Athens was not safe for an alien, (for the references see Chroust, 1972, n. 16).
[674] So Jouguet (1928), p. 63, Aymard (1950), Hammond (1972-1988), II, p. 158.
[675] Aristot. *Pol.* 3.1285b 3-5.
[676] See especially Granier (1931), pp. 1-3, 13-15.

dynasty. The lack of these connections impeded usurpation of royal authority from ambitious individuals, however charismatic they might have been. Additionally, the impression that the king was a *primus inter pares*, cultivated by the immediacy that the courtiers entertained with the king given the social structure of the court, does not stand close scrutiny any more than the view that the Makedonian monarchy was absolute. As regards the former, Carlier has demonstrated in his sober comparison between the Homeric and Makedonian kingship that this argument oversimplifies the evolution of Makedonian political development.[677] Despite critique this position still holds currency in recent scholarship and is still often re-iterated by scholars as a case in fact.[678] In a similar vein, Lane Fox made a series of statements in his biography of Alexandros III that have sprung from what can only be described as poetic license. He argued that (his version of) Alexandros III consciously strove to be a new Achilleus; that his Asian campaign was indeed "*Greece's last Homeric emulation*" and that it was undertaken in search of personal prowess just like the expeditions of the Kings of the Homeric epics.[679] Lane Fox's comparison is exemplary of another common pitfall Makedonian scholarship often finds itself drawn into: the frequent romanticising of actors and their deeds.[680] Understandably, this fallacy can be brought about by the at times frustrating dearth of evidence surrounding the early history of the Makedonian kingdom, which has vested its workings with an aura of inscrutability and where associations with a mythical past seem all the more appealing as complements to our fragmented knowledge.

The debate on the historicity of the Homeric epics is still unresolved, yet even if one accepts that the epics do reflect eighth-century BCE constitutional practices, these cannot be transposed uncritically onto the Makedonian political organisation.[681] Doing so would be an attempt to fill in gaps in our knowledge of a political system by using as evidence constitutional elements of another system, whose roots are to be found in oral tradition dating almost three centuries before our earliest reference to Makedonia and which belong to a society that may or may not have been realistically

[677] Carlier (2000) for a point-by-point comparison.
[678] See Fagan (1996), p. 260, Mossé (2004), pp. 47-54.
[679] Lane Fox (1973), p. 67.
[680] This trend is much more prominent in scholarship of the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, see for instance Droysen's (1877-1878) and Tarn's (1948) representations of Alexandros III.
[681] Finley in the *World of Odysseus* (2002), orig. publ. 1954, argues for the historicity of the Homeric epics. For the epics reflecting eighth century norms see Carlier (1984), pp. 136-240 and the introduction by Knox in Finley (2002), pp. 1-16.

portrayed, let alone ever been extant. Further, if Aristoteles indeed considered the Argead monarchy as an example of heroic kingship, he would have cited it as such, in the same manner that he used examples for the rest of his sub-categories. Instead, his refraining from doing so might point to the fact that he simply did not know of any historical counterpart to that type of kingship.[682]

Let us turn finally to the ideological connection between military power and the Ptolemaic monarch. It has long been argued that since the foundation of the Ptolemaic kingdom its ideology bordered on the autocratic personal type, where the rulers' warlike qualities, measured by their streak of victories, were an indicator of their political success.[683] At least in the early period, before dynastic associations (e.g. Philopator, Philometor) became the norm, and informal cognomens (e.g. Physkon, Kokke, Lathyros, Auletes) overshadowed the official titles of the rulers, the king's military power was revealed and flaunted through epithets such as Soter, Keraunos and Euergetes. Given the birth of the Ptolemaic Kingdom in conquest and its preservation in the face of its warring neighbours, these epithets seem to invoke and do justice to Aristoteles' principle of benefaction to one's *ethnos* as the prerequisite for the foundation of kingship.[684]

The major philosophical currents of the Hellenistic period, Stoicism and Epikoureianism, did not engage in an intellectual defence of the monarchy. The ideology of kingship that was promoted after the death of Alexandros drew on Platon's cardinal virtues of courage, justice, moderation, wisdom, piety and knowledge.[685] Treatises on kingship, although very few have actually survived, seem to have reiterated the same stock themes that first appeared on King speeches (*βασιλικοί λόγοι*) in the early fourth century, such as those authored by Isokrates and Xenophon.[686] These were intended more as elegies for the particular rulers rather

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[682] This acute observation was made by Hainsworth (1973), p. 189.
[683] Carlier (2000), p. 268, Walbank (1984), Samuel (1993).
[684] Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1310b 34-40: *"ἅπαντες γὰρ εὐεργετήσαντες ἢ δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐεργετεῖν ἐτύγχανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον κωλύσαντες δουλεύειν, ὥσπερ Κόδρος, οἱ δ' ἐλευθερώσαντες, ὥσπερ Κῦρος, ἢ κτίσαντες ἢ κτησάμενοι χώραν, ὥσπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ Μολοττῶν."*
[685] Pl. *Rep.* 4.427e: *σοφία*, *ἀνδρεία*, *σωφροσύνη*, *δικαιοσύνη*. It is accepted that the number of cardinal virtues (four) was a literary exercise for Platon. Additional virtues are introduced already in Pl. Rep. 4.430e: *ἐγκράτεια*, *κρείττω αὑτοῦ* (self-discipline), Pl. *Rep.* 6.487a: *φίλος τε καὶ συγγενὴς ἀληθείας*, as well as elsewhere, Pl. *Prot.* 330b: *ἐπιστήμη, ὁσιότης*, Pl. *Laws* 709e: where the tyrant should be *νέος, μνήμων καὶ εὐμαθὴς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς φύσει.*
[686] Isokrates: *Εὐαγόρας*, *Πρὸς Νικόκλεα*, Xenophon: *Κύρου Παιδείας*, *Κυνηγετικός*, *Ἀγησίλαος*, *Ἱέρων ἢ Τυραννικός*. For a summary and discussion of the lost works on Hellenistic kingship, see Walbank (1984), pp. 75-84 and Schofield (1999), pp. 742-744.

than philosophical discussions on the nature of the monarchy. Even so, nowhere is the significance of the army for the monarch so brusquely stressed as in Xenophon's *Hieron*: a ruler must either maintain a military force, or perish.[687] Both of the most important extant treatises on Hellenistic kingship emphasized the role of the king in war. Philodemos' piece "On the Good King According to Homer" underlined the Homeric ideal of the benevolent and just, yet warlike king.[688] Although referring to the era of the epics it is generally agreed that in this treatise Philodemos reflected much contemporary thinking on kingship.[689] Similarly, the "Letter of Aristeas," notwithstanding its Judaic theological emphasis, presented as one of the primary duties of the king the preservation of the lives of his subjects in warfare.[690] In a way then, the Ptolemaic king was portrayed as another 'Alexandros'; a defender of men.

Overall, the Hellenistic ideological background to the institution of the monarchy served primarily as a justification for a (near) world-system that was borne out of conquest in the span of a generation. The content of the treatises was the product of their authors' observations of the almost uninterrupted warfare of the period coupled with the understanding that within a court environment a king had to be praised.[691] Although Hellenistic kingship lacked the philosophical theorising of the previous century, its treatment verified that military power, manifested in military leadership, was itself one of the cardinal assets of a ruler's authority.

MILITARY LEADERSHIP IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE KING AS WARRIOR

In the morning of the Battle of Chaironeia Philippos II was standing at the head of the Companion Cavalry at the right wing of the Makedonian battle formation. He occupied the traditional position of the Makedonian king in battle.[692] His son commanded the Thessalian cavalry, as well as his father's most seasoned

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[687] Xen. *Hieron* 4.11: "*…στράτευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολωλέναι*."
[688] *P.Herc*. 1507, see Murray (1965).
[689] Schofield (1999), pp. 742-743.
[690] *Letter of Aristeas* §§ 240, 281, 291.
[691] Most of the treatises on kingship were dedicated to different monarchs or individuals of authority: The Letter of Aristeas to Ptolemaios Philadelphos, Philodemos dedicated his work to his patron, the senator L. Calpurnius Piso sometime in the first half of the first century BCE, Theophrastos wrote another such treatise, which he dedicated to Kassandros, Ath. *Deipn*. 4.144e, Diog. Laert. 5.42.49.
[692] See also Diod. 16.4.5. This would be the position from where Alexandros would lead many successful charges against the Persian armies. The cavalry would attack first, acting as the hammer that would force the enemy troops to be crushed against the anvil of the Makedonian phalanx: Granikos: Plout. Alex. 16.2-6, Issos: Diod.17.33.5, 17.34.9, Gaugamela: Diod. 17.58.1, 17.59.2.

commanders (*τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους*) at the left.[693] It is believed that he was the first to lead the charge.[694] The battle was ambivalent for quite some time, but eventually the eighteen-year-old Alexandros managed to crush the front lines of the Theban contingent, overcome the notoriously skilled Sacred Band and put the rest to flight. He was driven, according to Diodoros, by his will for victory and the desire to demonstrate his bravery to his father.[695] Philippos also led the charge of the Companion Cavalry, advancing well in front of them. Thus, the remaining enemy lines were dispersed and victory was secured for the allied Makedonian force. This short and somewhat vague description of the most important battle involving the Makedonian army on Hellenic soil, preserved by Diodoros, might be poor in tactical details but is very rich on nuances of how the Makedonian king perceived his role as a warrior.

Although Alexandros performed brilliantly by any standard, Philippos took full credit for the victory. This cannot be construed in any way as an intentional belittlement of Alexandros' achievement, signalling perhaps another manifestation of father-son rivalry.[696] Quite to the contrary, Philippos went on to entrust his son with the diplomatic mission to exact terms from a defeated Athens, in the company of Antipatros.[697] Subsequently, he assigned Alexandros the leadership of a campaign against the Illyrians.[698] Instead, Diodoros' choice of wording -"not conceding the honour of victory *even* to Alexandros"- implies that victory was the king's prerogative.[699] It was not to be accorded to his commanders, his soldiers, or even to his own son. Apart from the prestige factor reserved for the victor, which in the case of Chaironeia was duly showcased in the construction of the Philippeion within the grounds of the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, the exhibition of military prowess and success in battle was useful in inspiring loyalty in the army.[700] More than that, however, the Makedonian king did not want this loyalty to be misattributed, i.e. diverted away from him. This is the thinking that Arrianos attributes to Alexandros in

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[693] Diod. 16.86.1. The four main sources of information for the battle are Diod. 16.86, Plout. *Alex*. 9.2, Front. *Strat*. 1.9, Polyain. *Strat*. 4.2.2.
[694] Plut. *Alex*. 9.2.
[695] Diod. 16.86.3.
[696] On Alexandros' admiration of Philippos as a good warrior and king, but also as a rival, see Fredricksmeyer (1990).
[697] Just. 9.4.5.
[698] Curt. 8.1.25.
[699] Diod. 16.86.4: "*…τῆς νίκης τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὐδ᾽ αὐτῷ παραχωρῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ…*"
[700] The erection of victory memorials were common after significant battles, see also Diod. 16.4.7 commemorating Philippos' victory over Bardylis.

order to justify his decision to split the command of the Companion Cavalry between two *hipparchoi*.[701] According to the author of the *Anabasis*, Alexandros particularly wanted to avoid the development of strong bonds of affection between his best and most heavily trained military unit and their commander; even if that would be his most esteemed personal friend, Hephaisteion.

The role of the Makedonian king as the head of the charge in battle reinforced the ideological cohesion of the army. Such was the anticipated impact of the ruler's physical presence on the army ranks that an infant king was brought on the battlefield in its cradle, so that the aura of their king (*regis sui auspicia*) would lead the Makedones to victory.[702] And according to Justinus it worked. When previously the Makedones were retreating before the Illyrians, this was not because they lacked courage, but because they lacked a king. Coupled with his fighting alongside the regular troops, the king's direct engagement in battle went a long way in boosting their morale and performance. In the same way that individual army units tended to imitate the bravery or cowardice of their respective commanders leading them during the action, the king was the figurehead through which the entire force was motivated.[703] Indeed, there is not one instance in Argead history when the presence of an adult Makedonian king is documented in battle that he does not take it upon himself to set an example of his valour (*ἀνδραγαθία*). Against the Illyrians of Bardylis Philippos II himself descended upon the enemy in a frontal assault, while military distinction was a pursuit that bordered on recklessness with Alexandros.[704] On certain occasions, however, his taking of excessive risks turned out to be a necessary measure in order to galvanise the failing support of his troops.[705]

Of the Successor dynasties the Ptolemaioi were singled out as being the most indolent and the least warlike.[706] It has been argued that their royal ideology explicitly rejected the virtues of moderation and self-control and had them replaced with *tryphe*

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[701] Arr. *Anab*. 3.27.4.
[702] Just. 7.2.8-12. The infant was Airopos I, who succeeded his father Philippos I when only a child (*paruulum admodum*). Hammond (1989, p. 22, n. 28) believed the child in question to be Airopos' successor, Alketas, but although Justinus misses out on Alketas' reign altogether, the flow of the narrative does not allow one to assume that the child was any other than Airopos I.
[703] See for instance in the Battle of Issos, Diod. 17.34.1.
[704] Diod. 16.4.5-7. For Alexandros, see for instance his rash crossing of the Granikos, Plout. *Alex*. 16 and his storming of the Tyrian city-walls alone, a feat so daring that even witnesses found hard to believe actually happened, Diod. 17.46.2.
[705] Consider the recalcitrance of the Makedonian army against the prospect of renewed hostilities with the Indians, Curt. 9.4.16, Arr. Anab. 6.6-9, Plout. *Alex*. 63.
[706] Chaniotis (2005), p. 61.

(*τρυφή*). Scholars have associated *tryphe* with abundance, wealth and the prosperity that ensued from the fertility of the Nile.[707] In its most negative aspect *tryphe* could be interpreted as a state of excessive wantonness, conscious display of luxury and a certain amount of softness of character.[708] However, the adherence to a lifestyle of *tryphe*, which became more heavily integrated to the Ptolemaic royal ideology from the reign of Ptolemaios III Euergetes onwards, does not readily imply the foregoing of military virtues, like courage and bravery, as an essential corollary of Ptolemaic kingship.[709] The controversial character of individual rulers even in ancient times demonstrates that what could have been perceived by observers as indolence was, in fact, not incompatible with a ruler's direct engagement with the military responsibilities of kingship.[710] What is more, it is interesting to note that although the profligacy and sluggishness associated with *tryphe* damaged the public image of the ruler, military engagement absolved and elevated them as good monarchs.[711]

Especially during the formative years of Ptolemaic rule over Egypt, the Souda definition of 'kingship' as handed to men neither by virtue of justice nor by familial bonds, but instead through their ability to lead armies applied to Ptolemaios I as it did to Antigonos Monophthalmos, Demetrios Poliorketes, Kassandros, Lysimachos, Seleukos and Ptolemaios Keraunos.[712] The fragmentation of the once unified territory of Alexandros' empire, itself the product of a ten-year war of conquest, initiated an era of armed conflict that ended in an uneasy balance of power only some half a century after his death with the establishment of the three major Successor kingdoms; the Antigonid, the Ptolemaic and the Seleukid. The establishment of the dynasties did not, however, and by any means, mark the end of war in the Hellenistic period.

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[707] Heinen (1978). For the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina as a visual representation of the fertility of the Nile, see Meyboom (1995), App. 13 and also figures 3 and 4 here.

[708] Tondriau (1948). Polybios explicitly associates this 'softness' to the influence of the Egyptian mentality, Polyb. 39.7.7: "*…τις οἷον ἀσωτία καὶ ῥᾳθυμία περὶ αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτιακὴ συνέβαινεν*."

[709] Euergetes was the first to use the epithet Tryphon, as linked with the ideal of *tryphe*, Pomp. Trog. *Prologue* Book 30. *Tryphe* associated with extravagance and conspicuous display became a standard corollary of Ptolemaic kingship, see Rice (1983) for the Grand Procession of Ptolemaios Philadelphos as a celebration of *tryphe*.

[710] For Ptolemaios Philadephos, see Samuel (1993). See also Polyb. 28.21.5, 39.7 on Ptolemaios VI Philometor: " *Ptolemaios, king of Syria* […] *a man who, according to some, was worthy of great praise and remembrance, and according to others the reverse.*"

[711] A potent example of this is Polybios' assessment of the character of Ptolemaios VI Philometor, (28.21, 39.7). His bad judgement to flee to Samothrake during the Sixth Syrian War (170 BCE) against Antiochos IV Epiphanes was attributed to the corruptive influence of the king's advisor Eulaios. His military achievements and courage in battle later on in life were enough evidence for Polybios to vindicate Ptolemaios' true worth as a king.

[712] Despite dating from the Byzantine period the Souda entry closely described the circumstances under which the Successors of Alexandros III the Great rose into power in the turbulent period that followed the dissolution of his Empire, *Souda*, s.v. *Βασιλεία* b147.

Between the years 323 and 150 BCE Vernant has calculated that warfare ceased for only four short periods of one, two or ten years at the most.[713] In those circumstances it was thus a pragmatically indispensable requirement of Hellenistic kingship that the ruler proved himself to be a capable military commander. Indeed, the majority of the successors of Ptolemaios I undertook campaigns and led their armies. Contrary to the scholarly tradition that supports a view of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos as the indifferent womanizer, while his sister-wife Arsinoe was the one pulling the strings, he has shown himself as one not to shun away from military challenge and his track record of victories is impressive indeed.[714] He prevailed over Antiochos I in the First Syrian War and thus consolidated and enlarged the Ptolemaic foreign possessions in the Aegean all the way north to Samothrake. He was also proactive in organising expeditions in search of war material, mainly in the form of regular hunting missions he sent out to Ethiopia, the primary source location of war elephants for the Ptolemaic army.[715] Ptolemaios III Euergetes began his reign with yet another conflict over Koile Syria, out of which he not only emerged triumphant, but having stretched the borders of the Ptolemaic Kingdom to their widest territorial extent. Finally, even Ptolemaios IV Philopator, whose reputation paints him as a man of lesser ambition, is credited with the top to bottom reorganisation of the Ptolemaic army and with the victory against Antiochos III at Raphia, which secured the northern borders of Egypt for the remainder of his reign.[716]

As in Makedonia, the ruler was expected to lead by example. Diodoros preserves a colourful description of the Nile battle against Perdikkas, whereby both contenders led their army boldly against one another. Ptolemaios shouted words of encouragement to his friends and soldiers and, in a manner reminiscent of Alexandros in the siege of Tyros, mounted the bulwark, sarissa in hand and attacked the first elephant that came his way. His contempt for danger was imitated by his officers and friends and although Perdikkas' soldiers put on a difficult fight Diodoros claims that Ptolemaios' personal prowess and his exhortations drove his army on to many heroic deeds.[717]

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[713] Vernant (1968), pp. 279, 286.
[714] Burstein (1982), Samuel (1993).
[715] Casson (1993).
[716] Sekunda (1995).
[717] Diod. 18.34.1-5.

Possibly the most immediate departure from the armies of Alexandros and Philippos, even more so than the deployment of war elephants, was the use of reserve units in battle.[718] This development stationed the king not at the head of the charge but on the side of the formation, exercising the role of a modern general in co-ordinating the battle *during* engagement, as well as planning it out before. Even if the king in this capacity might not always be leading the charge, the army's morale just before the battle depended just as ever on the delivery of harangues and the motivation provided by the ruler's physical presence.[719] Polybios records that at the Battle of Raphia, the appearance of Ptolemaios IV amidst the ranks of the phalanx inspired the soldiers leading them to victory.[720]

Military success was a multiplier of royal military power. The effect that successful military leadership had on the growth of armies was amply demonstrated in the case of Ptolemaios I. Prevailing over Perdikkas in 320 BCE translated in Ptolemaios earning the unabated allegiance of the latter's army after his assassination by his own troops. Aside from their services, the army of Perdikkas offered to Ptolemaios the office of the vanquished general as well; the prestigious stewardship of the Makedonian kingship, which Ptolemaios curiously declined.[721] Similarly, the victory against Demetrios Poliorketes in the Battle of Gaza in 312 BCE meant that apart from the significance of the victory itself, eight thousand of Demetrios' mercenaries deserted to Ptolemaios.[722] Most of all, however, abstaining from military involvement was a sign of weakness. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the role Philippos III had to play in the battles of the Successors, who contended for the kingship he had better claim to than anyone else at the time. There is no record of his attempting to assume leadership of the army and in battle he was placed in charge of the weaker sections of the cavalry and of the elephants, while ordered to avoid engagement and observe the outcome on the other wing.[723] On the contrary, even the most vocal enemies of his predecessor-namesake admired his hands-on approach when it came to military matters. Demosthenes scolded the Athenians for not being a bit more like Philippos II in battle: "*No wonder that Philip, sharing himself in the toils of the campaign, present at every action, neglecting no chance and wasting no season, gets the better of us,*

[718] For the use of elephants, see Lloyd (2000), pp. 394-395.
[719] Diod. 16.4.3,17.33.1.2, 17.46.1.
[720] Polyb. 5.82.5-86.6.
[721] Diod. 18.33-37.
[722] Diod. 19.82-84, 90-93.
[723] Diod. 19.40.4.

while we procrastinate and pass resolutions and ask questions. I cannot wonder at this: the contrary would rather surprise me, that we, performing no single duty of a combatant, should overcome the man who fulfils them all."[724]

The pragmatic need for effective military leadership in turbulent times and the ruler's performance while campaigning are important parameters in the appreciation of his military power. Despite negative press, the early Ptolemaic kings were as active as their Argead predecessors in the field, not only because military confrontation was inevitable in order to defend their territory and the wider balance of power, but also because military power remained a yardstick by which to measure the ruler's success and accordingly, attract supporters. Going against the dictates of the Argead royal ideology, which viewed the king as a warrior, might have meant to risk isolation. Military power, however, as has been discussed in the introduction to this chapter, can exist outside of the campaigning season, which centralises it under the command of the ruler. During peacetime, military power tends to become decentralised. This tendency manifested itself in the military education of the younger generations and the creation of economic interdependencies between the soldiers and the central authority, which took the form of land grants in exchange for military service.[725]

MECHANISM NO 2: A MILITARY EDUCATION

In his *Politics*, Aristoteles brought to the foreground the importance of military education for a state whose outlook was in conquest.[726] In this light, the education of the youth and the values it emphasised could be seen as corresponding to the political goals of the unit that subsidised it. Aristoteles used as examples Sparte and Krete, where the system of education, as well as the law, was framed with a view to war. Platon in the *Republic* stressed the importance of a military education from a different angle, that of creating good soldiers.[727] He argued that not everyone could be a fighter, especially if they did not have the proper knowledge or the opportunity to put

[724] Dem. 2.23.
[725] Mann (1986), pp. 143-144.
[726] Aristot. *Pol.* 7.1324b.
[727] Pl. *Rep.* 2.374b-e.

it into practice.[728] To that end, the children of the guardians should be given the chance to fight alongside their parents in order to get valuable experience in warfare. What is more, military training was useful in that it promoted physical fitness, while it prepared a man for the military duties of a citizen. It was also conducive to bravery. Above all, though, it cultivated an interest in military science and all things military, which, from an ideological perspective, was beneficial in fostering compliance to the military objectives of the state, thus sustaining the power of its ruler.[729]

In early Ptolemaic Egypt, as has already been argued, the threat of encroachment by neighbouring kingdoms was never far removed and the realities of conquest implied that a vastly outnumbered conqueror community aspired to settle amongst the native Egyptian population. The desire to alleviate these pressures by stressing military training and values in education is evident in institutions such as the *ephebeia* and the *neaniskoi*.

Broadly speaking, in the Hellenistic period, and equally in Ptolemaic Egypt, there were two stages in the education of the young: the primary school and the secondary education of the gymnasion.[730] Of purely civic origin, the gymnasion retained in Ptolemaic Egypt its role as the intellectual centre par excellence for the education of the youth. After the gymnasion, followed the institution of the *ephebeia* in the academic formation of the adolescents. This entailed the military training of young men between the ages of 18 to 20 under the supervision of the state.

Military education *per se*, however, probably started from the gymnasion in the guise of athletic contests, as the discipline of athletic training had always been regarded as good conditioning for young warriors.[731] The earliest source for the existence of a gymnasion in Alexandria, dating to the early third century BCE, is a funerary epigram for a young boy who would no longer rejoice "*in the shaded grounds of the gymnasion*."[732] In Ptolemaic Egypt, the gymnasia were not always in the hands of the city, nor where they confined in civic environments. Instead, they appear to have been

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[728] Pl. *Rep*. 5.466e-467a.

[729] Similar ideas are expressed in the Laches, with only the homonymous interlocutor casting doubt on the bearing of certain forms of training, such as fighting in armour, in the performance of warriors in battle, Pl. *Lach*. 182d-184c.

[730] Boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 14 attended the primary schools. The gymnasia were reserved for boys of 14 to 18. According to Pomeroy (1984), p. 59 there is no direct evidence for elementary schools in Ptolemaic Alexandria.

[731] See Chaniotis (2005), p. 50. When during the fourth century BCE the *ephebeia* was instituted as a formal training ground of the polis' male youth for the military, it was to a great extent concentrated in the gymnasia and included the training in sports already habitually connected with the gymnasion.

[732] *I. Métr. Ég.* 62.

privately founded and maintained in cities, metropoleis, as well as villages.[733] They were, however, more often than not dedicated to the king, as numerous petitions reveal. One of those suggests that they functioned under the royal auspices.[734] Further, the close connection of the gymnasion to the promotion of the dynastic cult of the sovereign implies that devotion to the life of the gymnasion was perceived as a means of expressing loyalty to the dynasty.[735] Lastly, the wide distribution of the gymnasia must have contributed immensely to the diffusion of military values to the Hellenic-Makedonian populace.

In regard to the institution of the *ephebeia*, its existence has been confirmed in Alexandria since the first half of the third century BCE.[736] Although its organisation remains largely elusive, it is a fact that Kyrene, under Ptolemaic rule, enjoyed the services of professional trainers in athletics, arms handling, equitation and archery, as well as of the military officials known as *triakatiarchai*, since the late fourth century BCE.[737] The consistency of features that one encounters elsewhere in the Hellenistic world (i.e. the training in the javelin, the bow and, very importantly, the hunt, as well as the emphasis on the military education of the citizen, as opposed to philosophy and literature) allow for the suggestion that the same emphasis must have applied in Ptolemaic Egypt.[738]

Lastly, the institution of the *neaniskoi* is better documented. This group of young men, which is encountered all over the Hellenistic world, constituted the breeding ground of the future officers of the Ptolemaic army. Their age was between 18 and 30 and they are often classed among the *klerouchoi* of the land.[739] They are usually described as having graduated from the *ephebeia* and gone on to train in the army. A recent suggestion that the *neaniskoi* received administrative as well as military training in preparation for posts in the royal government strengthens the military dimension of the organisation of the Ptolemaic state.[740]

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[733] In the 3rd century BCE we are aware of four gymnasia in Egypt: that of Alexandria, Philadelpheia, Samareia and perhaps Luxor, Legras (1999), p. 209.
[734] *P. Ent. 8*.
[735] Austin (2006), p. 318.
[736] *P.Oxy.* 2465, *c.* 270s. Evidence for the existence of the Alexandrian *ephebeia* is scarce for the period in question. See Fraser (1972), p. 86. Also, it is worth noting the decree mentioning *epheboi* in a procession in honour of the Kanephoros preserved by Saturos: *P.Oxy.* 2465, F 2, col. 1.
[737] *SEG* IX:50.
[738] See Kennell (2006), p. xii, Chaniotis (2005), p. 51.
[739] *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59254.
[740] Legras (1999), pp. 206-207.

Literary and recently published epigraphic material from Makedonia presents some very interesting links with the Ptolemaic system of education and its military emphasis. Until recently, most of the evidence regarding the aims of education in Argead Makedonia concerned the sons of the royal family. These received lessons on music, literature, geometry and rhetoric from distinguished philosophers of the period, such as Euphraios of Oreos, the student of Platon who taught in the court of Perdikkas III, and Aristoteles, who was the teacher of Alexandros III and the royal youths in the court of his father, Philippos II.[741] Apart from a mathematical and literary formation, however, the heirs to the Makedonian throne and their young courtiers were the recipients of intense physical education. This can be inferred from the frequent participation of Makedonian kings in Panhellenic or local athletic contests, as well as in the royal hunts.[742] Élite education in other parts of Hellas was composed of the same mixture of philosophical and military training. Diodoros preserves the type of education that Philippos II received during his stay in the Theban court: *"Philip, who was reared along with* [Epameinondas], *acquired a wide acquaintance with the Pythagorean philosophy. Inasmuch as both students showed natural ability and diligence they proved to be superior in deeds of valour. Of the two, Epameinondas underwent the most rigorous tests and battles, and invested his fatherland almost miraculously with the leadership of Hellas, while Philippos, profiting from the same initial training, achieved no less fame than Epameinondas."*[743]

The hunt was a very important part of military education, as well as a rite of passage. The Kyropaideia of Xenophon explicitly states that hunting is the means by which men (and women) become good in war, as there is hardly any quality demanded in war that is not necessary in the hunt.[744] This is well attested in Makedonia where a Makedonas would not be allowed to recline on a banqueting couch until he had killed his first boar with a spear.[745] The hunt it seems had retained its educational importance and status as a rite of passage in Ptolemaic Egypt. In his introductions of Ptolemaios V to the representatives of the Achaian League, Demetrios of Athens, an ambassador of the king, made special reference to the fact

[741] See Dem. 9.62, Karystios of Pergamon apud Ath. *Deipn*. 1.508d, Plout. *Alex*. 7.14. See also *IG* VII 2849 (Haliartos honouring a Makedonian philosopher), Psoma (2006), p. 285.
[742] See for instance, Hdt. 5.22, Just. 7.2.14, Plout. Alex. 4.9, Solinus 9.16, Diod. 17.16.3-4, Arr. Anab. 1.11.1. For the royal hunt, see Palagia (2000), who sees the royal hunt as an Orientalising motif aimed at bringing legitimacy to the Successors.
[743] Diod. 16.2.2-3.
[744] Xen. *Kyrop*. 1.2.9-13.
[745] Hegesandros apud Ath. *Deipn*. 1.18a. Hegesandros comments on how Kassandros at the age of thirty was still not allowed to recline in symposia.

that the king had once killed a bull with a single throw of the javelin, while riding his horse.[746] The passage is also telling of the importance of perceiving the king as a skilled hunter, rider, and warrior. Demetrios is singing his master's praise and even if this could be attributed to diplomatic licence, it has served its purpose in catching the attention of the historian (Polybios), who committed the prowess of Ptolemaios V Epiphanes to posterity as "*ἄξιον μνήμης*." It is also possible, however, that the interest of Polybios was triggered by the fact that, despite this feat, Ptolemaios V had not participated yet in battle at the age of 25.[747]

Further evidence for the importance of hunting in Ptolemaic Egypt is provided by the prominence of a professional association with military undertones, the *κυνηγοί*.[748] Although their existence is attested in Makedonia from the Antigonid period in relation to the cult of Herakles Kynagidas, their presence in Ptolemaic Egypt from the very outset of Ptolemaic rule suggests that analogous units might have existed in Argead Makedonia as well.[749] *Kynegoi*, who answered to an *ἀρχικυνηγός*, appear in a dedication to Berenike, the wife of Ptolemaios I, alongside a *phrourarchos* and a certain Boiskos.[750] Their task in the Ptolemaic context appeared to be the upkeep, breeding and training of hunting dogs. Two such *kynegoi* took part in the Grand Procession of Ptolemaios Philadelphos leading a pack of no less than two thousand four hundred dogs of selected exotic breeds.[751] Dogs were used widely as guards in strongholds and were particularly useful in the all-important hunting of elephants.[752] Their function in Antigonid Makedonia was equally the guarding of frontier outposts and the conduct of royal hunts.[753] The *kynegoi*, who were sometimes classified as soldiers (*στρατιῶται*), have left a considerable amount of inscribed dedications on the rocks of the shores of the Red Sea, in the countries of the Troglodytes and Aithiopians, as marks of gratitude for a good hunt.[754]

Although knowledge regarding the education of royal heirs and youths in the Successor Kingdoms is more limited than in Argead Makedonia there can be little

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[746] Polyb. 22.3.
[747] Polyb. 22.17. Hunting was also very important in the context of pre-Ptolemaic Egypt. One need only gaze at the low relief representations of Pharaohs hunting buffaloes on the pylons of the temples at Karnak and Medinet Habu.
[748] See Fraser (1972), Launey (1949-1950).
[749] *SIG*^{3} 459 (Beroia, 248/247 BCE).
[750] *OGIS* 20 (Kition).
[751] Ath. *Deipn.* 5.201b.
[752] See *SEG* 24.154, ll. 14-15, *SEG* 26.1306, ll. 19-20, *SEG* 41.76. Ain. Takt. 22.14.
[753] See Psoma (2006), pp. 267-268.
[754] *OGIS* 86 (reign of Ptolemaios IV): a group of *kynegoi* thanking the god Ares Nikephoros Euagros.

doubt, judging from the above, that military training in hunting, horsemanship and the use of weaponry was in any way lacking in the formation of young princes. The practice of formally associating the young heirs to the throne of their fathers in conjunction with the already established importance of personal military engagement makes this type of education all the more imperative.

As the evidence from the organisation of the Ptolemaic system of education suggests, it was not just the children and youths of the royal court that benefitted from it. Recently published inscriptions from Makedonia elucidate the possibility that a similar system of education existed in Makedonia and the Ptolemaic template was not just the result of the influence of the Hellenic city-states. First of all, an extract from Athenaios' *Deipnosophistai* informs us that a *gymnasion* existed in the city of Pella since the fourth century BCE.[755] Another operated in Dion long before its destruction by the Aitolians in 214 BCE.[756] Finally, the oldest testimony to the existence of structures aimed at providing for the education of the Makedonian youths, dating also from the fourth century BCE, was found in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Beroia.[757] Taken together, these inscriptions suggest that the formation of children within a *gymnasion* framework, i.e. through rigorous physical training, was not limited to the offspring of the dynasty, but rather was a state-wide institutionalized commodity. The gymnasiarchal law of Beroia and the ephebarchic law of Amphipolis, although later than the Argead period, provide clues for the curriculum and classes of youths that frequented the *gymnasia*. As in Ptolemaic Egypt, there were three classifications of youths: the *paides* (14 to 18 years), the *epheboi* (18 to 20 years) and the *neoi* (20 to 30 years old), the latter two of which were expected not to interact with the *paides*.[758] In terms of the curriculum, the *paides* trained in the palaistra alongside their *paidagogoi*, while the *epheboi* and the *neoi* adhered to a more precise programme of exercises: *paidotribes* and masters of arms taught them archery, how to throw the javelin, as well as aim with rocks and stones, and finally taught them how to ride and fight on horseback.[759] The *epheboi* and *neoi* trained intensively from sunrise to sundown and were required to wear a uniform, which comprised of a *chiton*, a *chlamyda*, the *petasos*

[755] Machon apud Ath. *Deipn*. 8.348e-f.
[756] Polyb. 4.62.2.
[757] See Psoma (2006), pp. 288-289 with references.
[758] Hatzopoulos (1993).
[759] Psoma (2006), pp. 291-292.

and *crepides*. This type of military garb was retained until the very end of the Ptolemaic reign over Egypt and can be still seen in the so-called Nile Mosaic of Palestrina.[760]

What is very important in the context of the establishment and evolution of the Ptolemaic education system, other than its heavily physical-education oriented curriculum, is the already mentioned fact that in its earliest form it was a royal rather than a civic institution. Royal patronage was the norm in Makedonia as well. It is only in the late Antigonid period, under Philippos V, that the *gymnasia* become subsumed under the auspices of the Makedonian polis.[761] Further, it has become clear from the above discussion that the Ptolemaic system of education, with its emphasis on military training, certainly had overtones from the Hellenic city-state system but a good deal of it was based on structures already in place in Argead Makedonia. One can discern in the intensive, daily, and strenuous physical training and discipline that took place in both the Argead, Antigonid and Ptolemaic *gymnasia*, states intent on developing a class of citizens that would be familiar with the hardships of war, keen on following their ruler in military exploits and not averse to the Homeric view that "even in times of relaxation, one should train for war."[762]

MECHANISM NO 3: A MILITARY SOCIETY

Closely linked to the military training of the adolescents in Ptolemaic Egypt, the other most important manifestation of the permeation of the military power of the state into the everyday life of its inhabitants and one that, in the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, stretched from the centre of power in Alexandria to the *chora*, was the well-known institution of the *klerouchia*. This section will also discuss the evidence of the political role of the army in relation to the investiture of royal authority.

LAND GRANTS & THE INSTITUTION OF *KLEROUCHIA*

The institution of the *klerouchia* is the most potent example of the decentralisation of military power. It has been argued that the settlement of the

[760] See figures 3, 4 and 5 for a representation of Ptolemaic soldiers in what is thought to be typical Makedonian military garb, Meyboom (1995).
[761] Psoma (2006), pp. 294-295.
[762] *P.Herc*. 1507, see Murray (1965).

military in the land was one of the primary goals of the Ptolemaic state.[763] The organisation of the klerouchic system is attributed to the first Ptolemaios and its expansion to the second.[764] Its conceptual origins, however, have long been debated, with scholars suggesting that it was a mixture of the relevant Athenian and Pharaonic traditions of the practice of granting crown land to veterans and mercenaries in return for military service.[765] However, it seems also possible that the institution could trace its origins in the widespread distribution of land grants from the Makedonian king to his courtiers and army officers, while making use of the Hellenic terminology of *kleros*.[766]

The Ptolemaioi did not build many cities, and therefore did not enjoy the support of citizen militias that characterised the defences of the Seleukid and Antigonid Kingdoms. They did, however, settle most of their possessions with *klerouchoi*. Ptolemaic klerouchic settlements can be found from the trans-Jordan to Kyrene and Philoteria on the Sea of Galilee.[767] Apart from the geographic extent of the king's military power ascertained through the distribution of the *kleroi*, the inalienability of the plot from the Crown to the *klerouchos* in the early period guaranteed the control through time of the ruler over his human resources.[768] The fact that one of the prerequisites for extending the holding of the *kleros* to the progeny of the original *klerouchos* was their having undergone military training only serves to emphasize the extent of this control.[769]

Even if scattered throughout the Kingdom, settled in the midst of native groups, we observe an effort from the part of the ruler to keep the army as a distinct entity, united under various banners. On a fiscal level, the army, including those on active service alongside those settled on the land (*kleroi*), seems to have undergone a separate census than the rest of the population.[770] In addition, at least in the third century BCE there was an administrative branch of government officials that were

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[763] Manning (2006), p. 266.
[764] Uebel (1968).
[765] Lesquier (1911), p. 43.
[766] For the reciprocal obligations between the king and grantees of land, see Chapter 4.
[767] See Mueller (2006).
[768] *C. Ord. Ptol*. 5-10. The situation changed in the first century BCE when the *kleroi* became hereditary. This significantly weakened the links of the landholders with the Ptolemaic state, Manning (2003), pp. 178-181.
[769] Lesquier (1911), p. 61, referring to the contingent of *tēs epigonēs*.
[770] According to Clarysse & Thompson (2005), I, pp. 32-68 this is evident from the separate numbers for army units in figures from the Arsinoite nome and from the separate listings of household details for army families, II, p. 32. This separate census also counted the Hellenes in the *chora*.

entirely devoted to army census and army pay, the so-called army scribes.[771] As Clarysse and Thompson argue, the imposition of taxes, their varying rates and to whom they apply are not solely economic, but also political measures. The King's reliance on his army is revealed through the preferential treatment soldiers, as well as policemen and guards, the representatives of the Crown's monopoly on physical force in the interior of Egypt, received in terms of tax relief.[772]

A further mark of distinction was that the regular Ptolemaic army (which included both cavalry and infantry) was known by the designation 'Makedones,' even at a time when the migration of Hellenic and other mercenaries and Hellenic-native intermarriage had rendered the term entirely devoid of ethnic significance. To be sure, there is no hard evidence that Ptolemaios I had any ethnic Makedones in his service at the time of his arrival in Egypt. Given the peaceful transition from Persian to Makedonian governorship and the imminent show-down of Alexandros with the King of Persia, it has been argued that these troops were more likely to have been mercenaries of various ethnic backgrounds, even if their commanders were Makedonian.[773] Conversely, even if the first Ptolemaios did have Makedones in his army, the flow of Makedonian immigration must have drawn to a halt in the first few decades of his rule.[774] The decision therefore to assign a name so close to the ruler's home and its maintenance until well into the first century BC, where ethnic designations of army units were replaced by numeric and equipment designations, must have been a measure intended to provide cohesion to the army ranks.[775] This was achieved through the establishment of a common, if constructed identity, based on shared origins with the ruler. The visual manifestation of this constructed identity can be found in the preservation of the Makedonian military uniform.[776]

It has been suggested that in the early period this preferential treatment was an attempt to keep the army (that is, the Hellenic component of the Ptolemaic state)

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[771] Clarysse & Thompson (2005), I, p. 48. *Epistatai* were concerned with the taxation of the land of cavalry *klerouchoi*, *ibid.*, II, p. 31, n. 105.
[772] In Year 22 of the reign of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos a universal capitation charge was introduced; the salt tax. In the decade that followed, the tax was progressively lowered, until it was halved by Ptolemaios III in 243 BC. A capitation charge is a poll tax, i.e. a fixed amount of money payable per person. Clarysse & Thompson (2005), II, p. 87.
[773] Arr. 3.5.5. Griffith (1935), pp. 29-30. Cf. Billows (1995), p. 153, who suggests that there must have been *c.* 5,000 Makedones in Egypt.
[774] See Bagnall (1984), pp. 7-20 and Fischer-Bovet (2007).
[775] Marrinan (1998), pp. 545-546.
[776] See figures 3, 4 and 5.

distinct from the natives.[777] Before this behaviour is assigned on segregationist grounds though, one should consider the findings of modern research in military psychology arguing that the higher the degree of cohesion between soldiers in army units the more effective their performance.[778] Given the immense prestige the original Makedonian army enjoyed since the times of Alexandros, this measure alone might have been more effective in maintaining army cohesion, and consequently strengthening the military power of the ruler, than all the tax exemptions taken together.

The strategic importance of military settlements is revealed in the Syrian Wars of Ptolemaios III and Ptolemaios IV, when we are made aware that the majority of the cavalry engaged in the military confrontations was levied from the area of the Faiyum.[779] It is also indicative of the political manipulation of military settlements that the klerouchic plots in Upper Egypt increased after the revolts of 207-186 BCE.[780]

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE ARMY

"*Let the king elected by the Makedones preserve the area ruled by the Argeadai and let the Makedones with the king celebrate the customary rites for the Argeadai.*"[781] This is how the Alexandros Romance presents the resolution of the succession crisis in the section containing the so-called Will of Alexandros.

The close interrelationship between the ruler and the army is further supported by the role of the latter in the validation of kingship. Although the existence of a Makedonian Assembly, whether armed or unarmed, has long been debated this is not to deny the evidence that suggests that there were occasions where the army (or the closest circle of friends and advisors of the kings, who belonged to the army ranks)

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[777] Lesquier (1911).

[778] The territorial principle of recruitment prevalent in Argead Makedonia and extended into the early Ptolemaic period to an extent, which grouped soldiers according to their place of origin had a similar effect in the cohesion of the army: Arr. Anab. 3.27.4, Diod. 17.57.2, discussed by Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 451-452, (2001). For the military psychology, see Cronin (1998).

[779] Clarysse & Thompson (2005).

[780] Manning (2006), p. 269.

[781] Ps.-Kallisth. Rec. α 3.33.11-12: "*…ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν υἱὸν Φιλίππου. ἐὰν δὲ γένηται ἐκ Ῥωξάνης υἱὸς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐκεῖνον εἶναι βασιλέα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπιτεθῆναι αὐτῷ, ὃ ἂν δόξῃ Μακεδόσιν. ἐὰν δέ θῆλυ γεννηθῇ ἐκ Ῥωξάνης, ἐλέσθωσαν Μακεδόνες ὃν ἄν βούλωνται βασιλέα, ἐὰν μὴ βούλωνται Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου υἱόν. ὁ δὲ αἱρεθεὶς διαφυλαττέτω τὴν τῶν Ἀργειαδῶν ἀρχήν, καὶ συντελείτωσαν Μακεδόνες Ἀργειάδαις μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ νομιζόμενα.*" On the historicity of the Alexander Romance, see Stoneman (1991).

was instrumental in consolidating a new King on the throne.[782] The examples we possess confirm the intervention of the army on occasions of unrest or unclear succession. Philippos II, who at the time of his accession was serving as regent for his nephew, was "*compelled by the people to accept the kingship*."[783] Ptolemaios I was acclaimed King in 306 BCE by "*those in Egypt*," and Appianus qualifies those as "*his own household troops*."[784] Further, it was not unheard of that the army deposed kings as well. A case in question is the one of Amyntas III, the grandfather of Alexandros III, who was "*expelled by the Makedones*" in 393 BCE.[785]

In Ptolemaic Egypt, the effective dynastic practice of co-regency instituted by Ptolemaios I for his son Philadelphos during the last two years of his reign, meant that the matter of succession was neatly taken care of before the death of the king. However, the army was still called upon to validate the right of new kings to rule when succession was not as straightforward or when the prospective king was still a minor. Since the acclamation of the first Ptolemaios the army was next called to decide on a succession more than a hundred years later, with Ptolemaios V, who at the time of his father's death was only six years old. It is interesting to note how the acting regent, Agathokles, in an admittedly well-rehearsed gesture, raised the child high and called to the army that "*his fate depend*[ed] *on* [them] *and* [their] *actions*".[786] Despite the apparent long-term lack of participation of the army in such decisions, the acclamation of the young Ptolemaios V, which Polybios calls *anakleteria*, demonstrates the perseverance of the role of the army as a source of legitimacy.[787]

In regard to whether this group of Makedones formed an Assembly of men in arms or not the evidence is eschewed. Granier was the first to suggest in 1931 that the so-called "Makedonian koinon" (*τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων*), or the Makedonians (*οἱ Μακεδόνες*), both of which we encounter on numerous occasions in the Hellenistic period and less so in earlier periods, was essentially an Assembly composed of men eligible to bear arms.[788] His views, though widely accepted in the period before WWII, have since been largely revised. Briant, whose critique on Granier is one of the most consistently formulated, has argued that the Makedonian Assembly was only

[782] For an overview of the debate, see Adams (1986).
[783] Just. 7.5.9.
[784] App. *Syr.* 54.
[785] Porph. *FGrHist* 3 F 691.
[786] Polyb. 15.26.1-4.
[787] See Hammond (1989), pp. 281-282.
[788] Granier (1931).

extraordinarily composed of soldiers. On a regular basis it resembled a popular assembly, much like the ones in southern Greece.[789] Other scholarly interpretations of the Makedonian Assembly have varied between two extremes. Some have rejected *in toto* the existence of any sort of regular assembly, whether consisting of soldiers or of the "foremost Makedonians" (*οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων*).[790] Others have supported fervently the reality of a downright constitutional Makedonian Assembly.[791] As with many areas of Argead history our knowledge of the functions and role in the common affairs of the Kingdom of the so-called Assembly of the Makedones is hindered by too little relevant evidence. In general, however, extreme views tend to be marginalised and there is a stronger consensus in favour of its existence.

A minimalist view of the evidence reveals that an assembly is almost unheard of before the times of Philippos II. In the narratives of his early years as the head of the Makedonian kingdom we encounter references to some sort of gathering of the Makedones on two occasions. In the first instance, Diodoros and his sources present an assembly as a vehicle for communication between the King and the Makedones. Chronologically, the time was right after the succession of Philippos to the throne of Makedonia when the kingdom was in a precarious situation, threatened on all four sides by foreign invasions.[792] The morale of the Makedonian army was at its nadir because of recent defeats. Philippos tried to harness the existing confusion by "*bringing together the Makedones in a series of assemblies and exhorting them with eloquent speeches to be men*".[793] These speeches proved to be successful in boosting the soldiers' morale. There is no hint in Diodoros' rendering of the story that Philippos was in any way being original in calling an Assembly of the Makedones as a means to address them directly. However, these assemblies could be occasional in character, called only on emergency situations. The second instance is cited by Hatzopoulos as another direct attestation to the existence of some sort of assembly at the time of Philippos II. Justinus and his source write that while Philippos II was acting as regent for his brother's infant son the imminent wars of that period underlined (probably in the

[789] Briant (1973), pp. 279-350.
[790] Errington (1978), pp. 99-105. For references to *οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων* see Arr. *Anab.* 1.15.3, Polyb. 16.6..7, Plout. 8.3.2, G. Kedrenos, *Comp. Hist.* 1.256, where he states that Alexandros was given the kingship by this distinct group of Makedones.
[791] Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 261-322.
[792] For a rendering of the difficult situation with which the Makedonians were faced in 360/359 BCE see Diod. 16.2.5
[793] "*ἀλλὰ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐν συνεχέσιν ἐκκλησίαις συνέχων καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινότητι προτρεπόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίησε*," Diod. 16.3.1.

minds of the Makedones) the need for an adult king to take over the leadership of the army.[794] As a result, Philippos II was "forced by the people (*a populo*) to receive the kingship."[795] Unfortunately, in both cases, we have no way of establishing whether these assemblies were composed of armed or unarmed men and in any case most of the ammunition in the arsenal of the propagators for the existence or absence of an army assembly dates from the reign of Alexandros III.[796] Even though, it seems unlikely that a regular Assembly of the Makedones ever met, the Makedonian evidence for when it did meet, in conjunction with the equivalent early Ptolemaic, suggest that the Makedonian army was a source for advice and legitimation of decisions when the ruler's authority was itself in question.

CONCLUSION

The essentiality of military power for the survival of the Makedonian and early Ptolemaic monarchy comes in stark contrast with Aristoteles' depiction of the ideal state. The ideal state, which would, by definition, be governed by good laws, could exist in self-sufficient isolation without having to resort to conflict.[797] Domination of neighbouring polities was deemed as unjust as it was unlawful and hence an army was redundant for the survival of the state.[798] In the larger scheme of things, military pursuits should not be an end in themselves, but merely a means to an end.[799]

It has been argued that there are two solutions, in order to be left alone (and virtuous) in peace: either to withdraw from the world or, conversely, to absorb it.[800] The Classical city-state came very close to the first ideal in the fifth century BCE and managed to enjoy a dozen hard-earned warless years.[801] Philippos II's Makedonia to the contrary set out to absorb the world. Alexandros III may have come close to

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[794] Perdikkas was the King of Makedonia until his death on the battlefield against the Illyrians, Diod. 16.2.4. Justinus preserves a more dramatic version of Perdikkas' death at the hands of his scheming mother Eurydike, Just. 7.5.
[795] Just. 7.5.10.
[796] See Lock (1977), Carney (1981).
[797] Aristoteles advocated that civic isolation was possible and desirable, *Pol.* 7.1324b 40-1325a 1-4: "*ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴη γ' ἂν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν μία πόλις εὐδαίμων, ἢ πολιτεύεται δηλονότι καλῶς*, [...] *ἧς τῆς πολιτείας ἡ σύνταξις οὐ πρὸς πόλεμον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν ἔσται τῶν πολεμίων*".
[798] Aristot. *Pol.* 7.1325a 6, "*μηθὲν γὰρ ὑπαρχέτω τοιοῦτον*."
[799] Aristot. *Pol.* 7.1325a 7, "*..οὐχ ὡς τέλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου χάριν ταύτας*."
[800] Hassner (1997), p. 17.
[801] Lévêque (1968), p. 279, n. 108: There were overall four short periods of peace between 305 and 150 BCE: 299-297, 249-248, 205-204, 159-149.

achieving it but his generals and successors definitely demonstrated none of the skills to finish the job. Withdrawn, each in their own corner of the eastern Mediterranean, the three Successor dynasties exhibited neither the proclivity to enjoy a splendid isolation nor the capability to absorb the world. Whatever the aspirations of the early Ptolemaic rulers in regard to world domination, or universal rule, as it is most commonly known in Hellenistic terminology, military power was paramount for the preservation of Ptolemaic rule.[802] This is most evident in the emphasis placed on the concept that the land of Egypt was spear-won. At the Conference of Triparadeisos, Antipatros reconfirmed Ptolemaios' hold of Egypt, Libya and "*whatever towards the west he may acquire by the spear*".[803] The preservation of conquest and the colonial situation soon found its way into official propaganda and military industriousness became one of the standard vestiges of the Ptolemaic King. In one of his *Eidyllia*, Theokritos praised Berenike, the mother of Philadelphos for having produced a "*spear-bearing Ptolemaios to a spear-bearing Ptolemaios*."[804] He added that "*as a good king he cares deeply for the preservation of his fatherly inheritance and adds something to it himself*".[805] Similarly, the Adulis inscription from the reign of Ptolemaios III underlines the same concerns for preservation and enlargement of territories, as well as preponderance over adversaries.[806]

The tradition of the Makedonian kingship, with its emphasis on the role of the king as a military leader, coupled with a system of education which fostered the formation of new generations of warriors and the closer relations between the ruler and his army through reciprocal obligations integrated in social organisation, acted as multipliers of the importance of the King's real and perceived military power. In this respect, the rulers of early Ptolemaic Egypt remained faithful to the agenda of the Argead monarchy, which valued military kingship, values and involvement across the social frame, as pivotal. In addition, the status of Egypt as a spear-won territory created a set of expectations that had to be met, even if, as Samuel argues, in the case of Euergetes and Philopator this might have been done grudgingly.[807] At any rate, Kallixenos' description of the Grand Procession of Ptolemaios Philadelphos is testament to the fact that the early Ptolemaioi managed to put on parade, as well as

[802] For the aspirations of the early Ptolemaioi, see Meeus (2008).
[803] Arr. *Diad.* F 1 34.
[804] Theok. Ei*d.* 17.56-57.
[805] Theok. *Eid.* 17.105-106.
[806] *OGIS* 54.
[807] Samuel (1989), p. 73.

on the field, awe-inspiring military forces, which were reminiscent of the ones commanded by Philippos II and Alexandros III: "*πρὸς δὲ τὴν κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μακεδόνων κεκοσμημένην καταπληκτικῶς*."[808]

[808] Alexandros marching to Athens to exact terms after the Battle of Chaironeia: Diod. 17.4.4. For the Ptolemaioi, see Ath. *Deipn*. 196a-197c, 203a-206c.

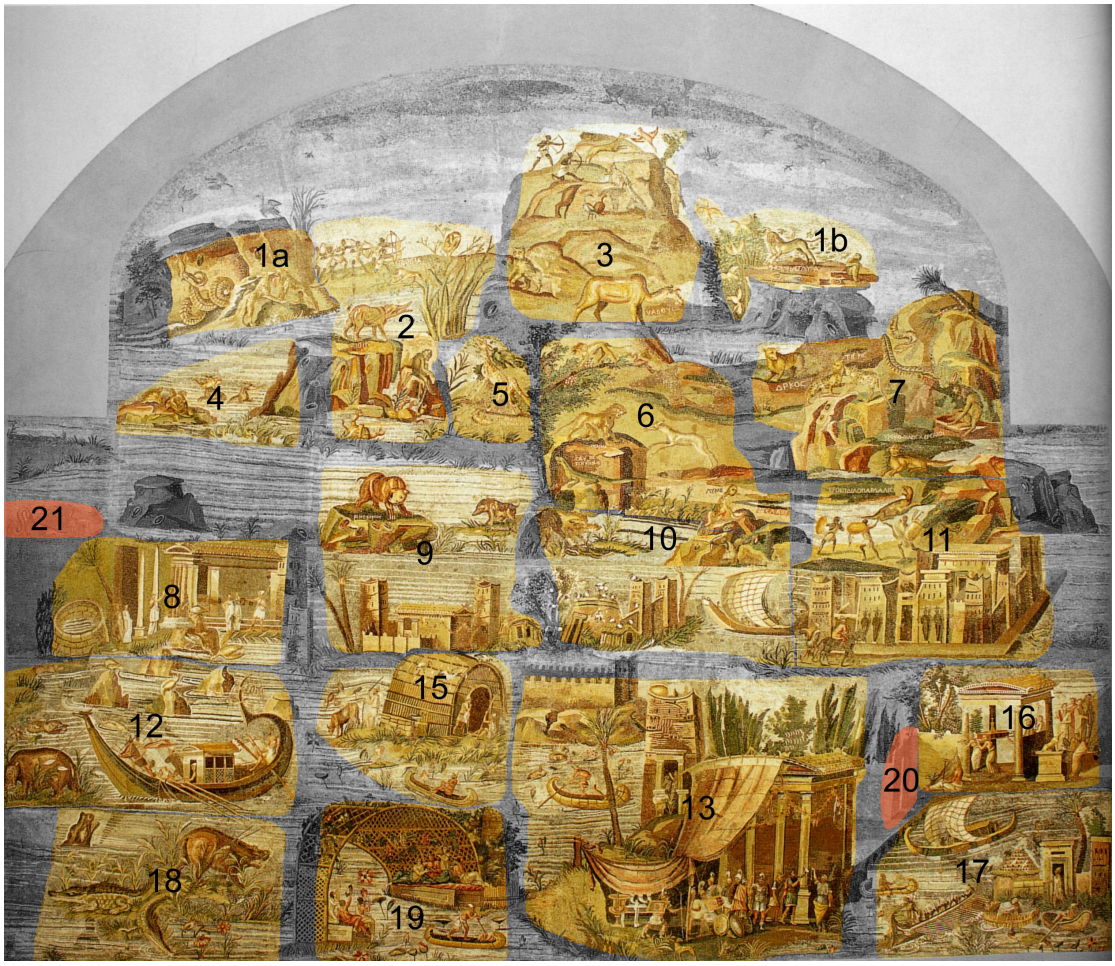

Fig. 3: The Nile Mosaic from Palestrina – present state. The original parts (with section number) are shown in colour

Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia – early first century BCE. Now relaid in the Palazzo Barberini-Colonna, Italy
(image retrieved from the Wikimedia Commons, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/29/Praeneste_-_Nile_Mosaic_-_Section_Map.jpg, last accessed 15 March 2010)

Fig. 4: Detail of the Nilotic landscape from the Nile Mosaic

Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina – early first century BCE. Now relaid in the Palazzo Barberini-Colonna, Italy
(image retrieved from the Wikimedia Commons
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:NileMosaicOfPalestrina.jpg
last accessed 15 March 2010)

Fig. 5: Detail of the Nile Mosaic depicting Ptolemaic soldiers in Makedonian garb

Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia – early first century BCE. Now relaid in the Palazzo Barberini-Colonna, Italy
(image retrieved from the Wikimedia Commons
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:NileMosaicOfPalestrina.jpg,
last accessed 15 March 2010)

"Institutions are not necessarily or even usually created to be socially efficient; rather, they, or at least the formal rules, are created to serve the interests of those with the bargaining power to create new rules."

Douglass North (1992)[809]

CHAPTER FOUR: ECONOMIC POWER

As outlined in the introduction, the fourth and final layer of power structures that sustained the monarchy in the Argead and early Ptolemaic period involves the acquisition and organisation of economic power. Before moving any further, it is essential to define the concept of economic power and examine its sources. In the process, the discussion will touch upon the methodological debates surrounding the study of the ancient economy.[810]

Economic power is not merely a reflection of the amount of wealth the central authority of a state has accumulated, although it is widely understood that economic capabilities shape political and military intentions.[811] Instead, theorists have variably traced the determinants of economic power in different sources, which accounts for the fact that there is no generally agreed upon definition for economic power. For Marxists, control over the means of production, principally labour, equalled with economic power.[812] Weber and his followers objected to this monocausal explanation and emphasized that economic power is a consequence of historical (largely political) and structural circumstances, which determine the distribution of control over

[809] Douglass North and Robert Fogel won the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1993 for "having renewed research in economic history by applying economic theory and quantitative methods in order to explain economic and institutional change," (quote from the Nobel Foundation website, last accessed 1 February 2010, http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economics/laureates/1993/index.html).

[810] On the so-called *Methodenstreit* (War on Method) see further Appendix A.

[811] See Zakaria (1998), who demonstrates that wealth does not equal economic power. His thesis, concentrating on the economic power of the United States of America since the late nineteenth century, is based on an examination of those circumstances that lead wealthy, yet politically and diplomatically inactive, states to become influential in the international arena. He concludes that in order for wealth to be instrumental in foreign policy it has to be harnessed by a central authority towards that particular purpose. It is only when this goal has been achieved that a state can be considered to yield economic power.

[812] Wolff (2008) IN the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy s.v. *Karl Marx*.

economic goods across social groups.[813] The same principle applied to both modern and pre-modern societies.[814] Until the advent of the Finleyan paradigm in the 1970s, the study of the economic structures and organisation of ancient political units were largely neglected by both economists and ancient historians.[815] The consensus viewed the ancient economy through the lens of the neo-classical model of economics, with its emphasis on profit-oriented human rationality.[816] In this light the ancient world was perceived as a scaled-down version of modern Europe. However, the neoclassical paradigm does not incorporate power into its study of economic activity and is, therefore, not suited to explain the role of economic organisation in the exercise of power.[817] Building on the economic sociology of Weber and the substantivism of Karl Polanyi, Finley argued that the economy was not a separate sphere of activity in the societies of the ancient Mediterranean. Rather, most economic action was driven by social rather than economic concerns (i.e. the pursuit of status, as opposed to profit).[818] The substantivist model, which remains the best-theorised framework for thinking about the ancient economy, identified the sources of economic power of ancient states as embedded in the organisation of economic exchange (reciprocity, redistribution and to a lesser extent, the market).[819] Finley's substantivism, however, has attracted serious criticism for laying too much emphasis on the social dimensions of economic activity at the expense of empirical evidence.[820] Recent revisionist research,

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[813] "…*the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds*," Weber M. (1978), pp. 67-68, 926-940.

[814] Max Weber did not believe that ancient societies belonged somewhere along a primitive-modern spectrum, see his analysis of the ancient city-state (1978), pp. 1212-1372 and his typology of ancient states (1976), pp. 69-79. For the primitivist-modernist and the substantivist-formalist debate see Appendix A.

[815] See the very useful introduction by Morris & Manning (2005).

[816] Rostovtzeff, the most prominent economic historian of the interwar period, was an ardent modernist. Such was the polarity that the neoclassical paradigm had instilled in the study of ancient economies that Max Weber's neither/or approach to the primitivist/modernist debate was as if it had never been formulated. See Heuss' quote IN Bruhns (2006), p. 45, n. 19: "*The study of antiquity had proceeded for most of the twentieth century as though Max Weber had never existed*."

[817] Cooper (1993), pp. 87-88.

[818] See further Appendix A. The standard works are Polanyi (1944), *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, Finley (orig. pub. 1973), *The Ancient Economy*.

[819] Mann (1986), p. 24. For Polanyi's and Finley's substantivism and for criticism see Appendix A, see also Morris & Manning (2005b), pp. 144-149. It is interesting that despite the apparent influences, Polanyi rarely acknowledged his intellectual debt to Weber.

[820] What Morris & Manning (2005b) call "oversocialisation." The 'empirical' and 'oversocialisation' critiques argue that for the sake of non-falsifying the model, substantivism often fails to take into consideration an array of important data (e.g. the existence of banks), Morris & Manning (2005b), pp. 145-147. Current adherents to the theory of substantivism (Davies 1998, 2001, 2005) have moved beyond Finley's concentration on "*dominant types*" (Finley, 1999, p. 29). In order to accommodate the various 'economies' of the ancient Mediterranean basin (local, regional, long-distance, alternative),

originating mainly from the Stanford Social Science History Program, has sought to construct models and falsifiable theories for the structure of ancient Mediterranean economies by incorporating methodologies drawn from economic sociology (especially the so-called new economic sociology -NES) and New Institutional Economics (NIE).[821] Despite its theoretical springboard, the Stanford School (if it may be dubbed thus) does not propose to detract from the primacy of data in historical enquiry.[822] Both NES and NIE form mediations between the "methodological individualism" of neo-classical economics and the assumption that social structures and institutions matter in economic action.[823] Equally important for this thesis is their primary concern for the role of the state (in our case the monarchy) as an important economic actor. Following from NIE, the economic power of individuals and groups stems from the efficiency of the property rights régime. In this process, the role of the state is paramount in that it specifies and enforces those property rights.[824]

To summarize, ancient economic history cannot be studied without a theoretical framework in mind. The atheoretical approach of the liberal humanist tradition, whose aim is to "*preserve*" the myriad details of human activity and emphasize the contribution of the individual "*at their best*" in history, has proven insufficient for an analysis of the structures, organisation and distribution of power in ancient economies.[825] It is telling of the relevance of social and economic theory in ancient history that the position, which eventually came to dominate the ancient economy debate for decades, relied on the historical and economic sociology of Max Weber. The usefulness of deductive modelling has also been demonstrated in pioneering studies of ancient economic historians such as Hopkins and Cohen.[826]

Insofar as economic power is concerned, control over production and

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Davies (2005) has produced a series of flow charts of resource movement with the aim of demonstrating the co-existence of different modes of economic behaviour, p. 134.

[821] New work in the field includes Davies (1998, 2001, 2005), Manning (2003), Manning & Morris (2005), Bresson (2007, 2008). The point of departure for the new economic sociology was Granovetter (1985), while for NIE the work of North (1981) is seminal.

[822] Morris & Manning (2005), pp. 34-35.

[823] In economics, as in sociology, the doctrine of "methodological individualism," coined by Schumpeter (1908), but theoretically elaborated by Weber (1978), stipulates that economic (and social) phenomena must be explained by the actions of individual agents, Heath (2009) IN the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* s.v. *methodological individualism*. For the basic tenets of the New Economic Sociology, see Glossary.

[824] North (1981), pp. 7-8. For a diagrammatic representation of the connections between the government and property rights in NIE see Appendix B.

[825] Crane (1967), p. 12.

[826] Hopkins (1980, 1983, 2002) worked on models of Roman revenue flows, while Cohen (1992) studied the Athenian banking system.

exchange, as well as an efficient property rights régime, are all crucial parameters for defining its nature and extent. However, neither can take precedence over the other purely on theoretical grounds. Primacy, if applicable, can only be determined by the available empirical evidence.[827] The definition of economic power used in this thesis is borrowed from Michael Mann, whose historical sociology summarizes the most recent developments in the field. Following Mann, economic power "*derives from the satisfaction of subsistence needs through the social organisation of the extraction, transformation, distribution, and consumption of the objects of nature*."[828] Meeting the economic objectives of these tasks, i.e. the successful allocation and management of scarce resources vis-à-vis the infinite possible alternative uses that they could be put to, presupposes the formation and mobilisation of social networks that sometimes comprise vast numbers of people scattered across extensive territories.[829] This is because, according to Mann, economic power is by nature diffuse and thus, not easily controlled from the centre.[830] No economic organisation would be possible if those social networks were not able to engage in some sort of stable co-operation. Equally, such co-operation would not be viable for extended periods of time, were it not for the existence of a supervisory body with organisational superiority that would institutionalise control through customs, laws and norms, thus gaining the compliance of the supervisees.[831] Under this light, the ability of a dominant individual(s) or group(s) to monopolise successfully control over the extant production, distribution, exchange, and consumption networks allows him/them to yield economic power.

A better understanding of the structures of an economy and the social networks that are formed around them can put into perspective the manner in which the ruler exacted the co-operation of central and local agents into maximising the state's wealth.

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[827] Mann (1986), pp. 24-25.
[828] Mann (1986), p. 24.
[829] Mann (1986), p. 24. The 'perennial' problem of economics has been best articulated by Robbins (1932): "*Economics is the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses*," p. 16.
[830] Mann (1986), p. 24. This goes against views for the unitary and strictly hierarchical organisation of states, i.e. advocated by Wittfogel (1957) and Eisenstadt (1963).
[831] Mann (1986), p. 7.

SOURCES AND EARLIER VIEWS ON MAKEDONIAN AND PTOLEMAIC ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

ARGEAD MAKEDONIA

Very little has been written on the economy of the Makedonian state. No single book-length treatment exists, while articles dedicated to the subject are few and far between. Hardly any of the scholarship concerns the period prior to the reign of Philippos II.[832] This scarcity of studies stands in striking contrast to the bulk of recent scholarship on the Ptolemaic economy.[833] The defining factor behind this discrepancy lies in the nature and, more specifically, the volume of evidence available for each Kingdom.

The perceived scarcity of Makedonian evidence is the cause for the consistent absence of the Argead Kingdom from almost any economic history debate. Although, admittedly, the quantity of Makedonian evidence pales before the plethora of the Ptolemaic papyri, a fair assessment of the Makedonian economy under the Argead kings is by no means elusive. The collection of the relevant material, which is presented here in a catalogue format under Appendix C, showcases how undeservedly understudied the economic structures of the Makedonian Kingdom have been so far.

The body of evidence is indeed quite impressive. Argead economic activity is found recorded on inscriptions in the form of royal decrees (letters and *diagrammata*) and official trade agreements with third parties.[834] The literary sources provide extremely valuable references, dating mainly from the reigns of Philippos II and Alexandros III, but also from earlier periods.[835] Inferences can also be drawn from coins and material culture.[836] The type of metal, the denominations and geographical

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[832] Hammond (1972-1988, vol. II) does examine the economic development of Makedonia under Philippos II but this is done in a fourteen-page section, where he also examines military security and national unity, pp. 657-671. His later treatment of the same subject under Philippos and Alexandros in his *Macedonian State* (1989) is more focused but still mainly descriptive, pp. 177-187. For Borza (1992) see index s.v. *Macedonians* and *Philip II*. Other valuable treatments are by Montgomery (1985, 1997), Borza (1982, 1987), Hammond (1988, 1995b), although (with the exception of Borza 1982, 1987) they also tend to focus on the reign of Philippos II and the economic innovations he wrought.

[833] The seminal work is still Préaux [1979 (1939)]. More recently see Manning (2003, 2005, 2006), Archibald et al. (2005), von Reden (2006, 2007).

[834] E.g. the royal diagrammata involving the re-organisation of national and newly conquered (royal and civic) land (*SEG* 34.664, *SEG* 36.626) and the trade clauses included in international treaties (*IG* I^3 89, *SIG*^{3} 135). See further Appendix C.

[835] E.g. Thoukydides (1.58.2) records the prerogative of the Makedonian king (Perdikkas II) to move populations at will, also the Opis Speech in Arr. *Anab*. 7.9-10. See further Appendix C.

[836] On the coins of the Kingdom of Makedonia, see Price (1974), Le Rider (1977, 1996). On the relevance of archaeological evidence to economic history see Greene (2006).

spread of coins by a particular state attest to the level of monetization of that economy, as well as its trading partners. Levels of prosperity and trading patterns can be deduced from grave goods, architectural remains and chance finds, such as shipwrecks.[837] Added to that is the steady flow of new epigraphic discoveries and publications that have appeared in the last decade and a half. All of the above no longer justify the scholarly neglect of the Argead economy on the grounds of ignorance.[838] Goukowksy's complaint in the 1970s that "[o]*n connaît à peine les institutions de la Macédoine avant Alexandre*," can be eased.[839]

Earlier scholarship recognised the importance of agricultural land, the exploitation of silver and gold mines, timber, as well as coinage as economic resources, but most Makedonian scholars did not attempt to take the analysis beyond the description of the obvious, namely that the king exercised some form of control over them. The prevailing approaches on the nature of this control have generally followed suit from where their advocate stood on the constitutionalist-absolutist debate and what their take was on the nature of the Makedonian monarchy. Errington, the foremost proponent of the absolutist thesis, would have the economic organisation of the Kingdom subsumed under the "*supremacy of the king in all recorded aspects of public life*".[840] For Hammond, who stands at the other end of the spectrum, although the King retained an "*almost complete concentration of the State's wealth in* [his] *hands*," allowance is made for the apparent separation between the property of the King and the property of the Makedones.[841] In addition, there is a tendency in scholarship to credit developments in the economy solely to the personality of a particular ruler, and this is usually Philippos II.[842] Hammond was convinced that "*changes within the kingdom*

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[837] One example of the intensity of trade between Northern Hellas and the Aegean is the late fifth century BCE shipwreck near Alonessos. Excavated in 1992, it appears to be the largest surviving Classical Age trade vessel, with a maximum capacity of 4.000 amphorai. What was in all probability an Athenian merchant ship transported a cargo of wine amphorai from Mende in Chalkidike, an, at the time, independent Eretrian colony famous for the quality of its wine (*Μενδαῖος οἶνος*). See Hatzidake (1996), Papadopoulos & Paspalas (1999). The desirability of Mendean wine is reaffirmed by the fact that we find it growing on the Estate of Apollonios in the Faiyum. *P. Zen.* 59033. Athenaios (*Deipn.* 11.784c) attests that is was still exported in large quantities during the reign of Kassandros. For the economic significance of grave goods, see the preliminary results of the ongoing excavations at the West cemetery of Archontiko in Pella, Press Release of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 10 September 2008, Eleutherotypia 1 April 2009.

[838] Hatzopoulos (1996). Errington (2002).

[839] Goukowsky (1975), p. 273. For a record of Argead economic activities, see Appendix C.

[840] Errington (1974), p. 37.

[841] Sources, such as Diod. 16.71.2, Arr. *Anab.* 1.27.4 and *FD* 5.19.74, attest that the Makedones received and dispensed of sums of money as a group and in their own name, independent of the king, Hammond (1988).

[842] Cawkwell (1978), pp. 17-18, Hammond (1989, 1995).

were assuredly powered by the personality of Philip; for he must have inspired the peoples of the enlarged kingdom to go to work with enthusiasm…"[843] Hammond's own enthusiasm can be explained for having given too much credit to the historicity of the Opis Speech.[844] However, the idea of Philippos' perceived economic innovativeness has attracted scholars with ampler access to the recent epigraphic evidence. Still, for those who want to dramatize Philippos' importance in Makedonian history, prior to him there was no economy to speak of.[845]

The economic organisation of the Makedonian kingdom, and the role of the king in ordering it, has generally been described as akin to a tribal economy, structured along the lines of Rodbertus' notion of *Oikenwirtschaft*.[846] The economy of the *oikos*, as the primary stage in the economic development of the world, stood behind the city- and the state-economy. Both Rodbertus and later Bücher agreed that this was where the ancient economy in its entirety belonged.[847] Even though their thesis has been effectively discredited, the economy of the kingdom of Makedonia is still largely regarded as a typical household economy.[848] However, the definition, as well as the structures of this type of economy in the context of a monarchic state, is nuanced. Usually, it is implied that the entire state was administered as an extension of the household of the ruler, i.e. organised along the same lines that a master would his personal household. According to Rodbertus and Bücher, a household economy was a closed economic system, whose main aim was autarchy.[849] Production was tailored for subsistence, while specialisation and trade were minimal. Exchange was embedded in a series of social obligations that were satisfied through reciprocity and gift-giving. Already in the fourth century BCE, however, the Aristotelian school had recognized that "*the authority of a master* (of a household) *and the authority of a statesman are*

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[843] Hammond (1989), p. 178.
[844] Arr. *Anab*. 7.9.2-3. Hammond (1989), pp. 177-187. *Contra* Montgomery (1985, 1997), Bosworth (1988), pp. 101-113, maintains that the economic evolution sketched in Alexandros' speech is "*wildly inaccurate*," p. 109.
[845] Worthington (24 April 2009).
[846] Rodbertus (1865) coined the term, which was then developed and incorporated into an evolutionary schema by Karl Bücher (1893), Davies (1998), pp. 233-234. For the Makedonian state as a tribal state see Thomas (1966), p. 396, n. 37, Samuel (1988), Hammond (1989), p. 164, Archibald (2000), p. 227.
[847] Rodbertus (1865), Bücher (1893). For the ensuing controversy see Appendix A and also the provocative article by Derks (2002).
[848] Davies (2005), "[in] *monarchies* […] *the ideological and administrative model was that of the household*," p. 129. For the Bücher/Meyer controversy, see Appendix A.
[849] "*Die Autarkie die Oikos*," see Moss (1937), p. 214.

not the same, nor are all forms of authority identical between themselves, as some claim."[850] The difference between them was one of scale and character. In Book II of pseudo-Aristoteles' *Oikonomika* where the author distinguishes between the various types of economic administration, that of the monarchy, described as *"μεγίστη μὲν καὶ ἁπλουστάτη,"* is diametrically opposed to the "*ἐλαχίστη δὲ καὶ ποικιλωτάτη*" economy of the private household.[851] In view also of the ongoing archaeological work in Makedonia, it becomes increasingly more problematic to treat the economic organisation of the monarchy as a centralised household economy with the ruler as its master. This unitary model ignores the presence of economic actors other than the king, overlooks any social and economic networks formed between the central government and local authorities, undermines the existence of trading activities and markets and misrepresents the constraints of ensuring compliance. In short, it is quite unrealistic.

Finally, as a by-product of Aristoteles' typology of monarchies, Makedonian kingship has often been cited in parallel with the Homeric as examples of 'heroic kingship.'[852] The comparison, although rarely analysed, is carried over on all aspects of social life, including the economy.[853] Finley's model of a Homeric subsistence, gift-giving economy seems all too reminiscent of the household economy model described above.[854] The Homeric comparison, however, is fraught with problems of evidence and method.[855] Although the current consensus on Homeric studies argues for the historical basis of the social background of the Homeric epics (as reflecting Hellenic chieftain societies of the ninth century BCE), and despite what has come down to us through Alexandros III's own fondness of the Homeric epics, as a "*traditionally cultivated closeness of the Macedonian elite to the epic world*" this does not mean that the Makedonian

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[850] "*φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική, οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρχαί, ὥσπερ τινές φασιν*." Arist. *Pol.* 1.1255b.

[851] Ps-Arist. *Oikon*. 2.1345b. *Μεγίστη* (of the greatest extent) vs. *ἐλαχίστη* (of the least extent), *ἁπλουστάτη* (the most straightforward) vs. *ποικιλωτάτη* (the most diversified). On the nature of the 'royal economy' in pseudo-Aristoteles, see Descat (2003).

[852] Arist. *Pol.* 3.1285b. Brunt (1997), App. B: "Aristotle and the Macedonian people and monarchy," pp. 334-335.

[853] Edson (1970), pp. 22-23. The article of Carlier (2000) is, to my knowledge, the only piece of scholarship that engages with an analytic comparison between the Homeric and Makedonian kingship, stressing the differences. Unfortunately, he does not discuss the economy. On the Homeric economy see Donlan (1997, 1998).

[854] Finley (2002, orig. pub. 1954).

[855] Borza (1992) expresses the same concerns, p. 236.

reality was any similar.[856] One must accept that "*die Ilias ist kein Geschichtsbuch*" and leave the Makedonian-heroic-Homeric subsistence economy thesis to rest.[857]

PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

Writing on the nature of the evidence for the Hellenistic economies Davies conceded that scholarship is at least a generation away from any significant corpus that would provide the relevant refined data for a more secure modelling of the economies of the Hellenistic period.[858] Even so, significant advances have been made since Finley dismissed the Hellenistic economies as non-existent, in his influential substantive approach to the ancient economy.[859] At the forefront of this progress stand the Hellenistic Near-Eastern economies. This is because, in stark contrast to the classical economies that are revealed to us mostly through indirect narratives, they benefit from a wealth of contemporary primary sources, usually categorised as 'archives,' which lend themselves for various levels of qualitative and quantitative analysis.[860] In the case of Egypt, the arid climate of the desert has proven very generous with the preservation of the main writing medium, the papyrus.[861] Literary accounts by historians, such as Diodoros Sikeliotes and Polybios, provide the scholar only with the occasional anecdote; a situation similar to that in Argead Makedonia.

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[856] Donlan (1997, 1998). For contemporary perceptions of the Makedonians as a less advanced people representing an 'earlier' stage of social evolution, see Hall (2001), citing among other primary sources, Thouk. 1.5.3-1.6.2. Hunter (2004), p. 249. On the appreciation of Alexandros for the Homeric epics, see also Vasunia (2001), pp. 253-255.

[857] Hampl (1962).

[858] Davies (2001), p. 46.

[859] "*There was* […] *no "Hellenistic economy": from the outset there were two, an ancient sector and an Oriental sector*," Finley (1999), p. 183. Quantitative studies have become common in the field of numismatics, see Duyrat & Picard (2007). The modelling of Hellenistic economies has been partially attempted by Aperghis (2004) for the Seleukid economy, Manning (2003) for the Ptolemaic. On the relationship of the available evidence and the construction of general models for Ptolemaic Egypt, see Manning (2005b).

[860] In the Seleukid Kingdom primary evidence consists principally of temple archives (e.g. the Persepolis Texts, the Babylonian Chronicles), inscriptions and coins, Aperghis (2004), pp. 7-18.

[861] For a valuable discussion concerning the advantages and limitations of working with papyri, see Bagnall (1995). The most important papyrological sources dealing with the workings of the state economy in the early Ptolemaic period are the *Zenon Archive* from the area of the Faiyum, the Revenue Laws (*P. Rev.*), *P. Tebt.* III 703, *P. Lille* and *P. Sorbonne* from the area of the Ghoran, the *Petrie Papyri*, collated from mummy cartonnage found in cemeteries around the area of Gurob, a site at the entrance of the Faiyum, and to a lesser numerical extent the *Hibeh Papyri* from the Oxyrhynchos. All collections are in Greek and date from the third century BCE. Equally important sources written in demotic are the *P. Mattha*, a legal code from the third century BCE discovered in Hermopolis and the similar in scope *P. Berlin* 13621 and *P. Cairo* 50108 recto, also known as the *Zivilprozeßordnung*, dating from the same period, Manning (2003), pp. 18-19. For a detailed map of the Arsinoite nome and its villages, see the Fayum Project Map at http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/map.php, last accessed 20 March 2010.

This dearth of literary sources in Ptolemaic Egypt is, however, more than compensated by the Greek papyrological record, which has preserved an abundance of royal *diagrammata*, legal agreements, administrative correspondence and tax receipts; all remnants of the economic organisation of Egypt. Tax receipts and other bureaucratic documents can also be found inscribed on ostraka, as well as recycled in mummy cartonnage. What is equally remarkable about the nature of the documentary evidence in Ptolemaic Egypt is the fact that alongside the top-level management, we possess accounts for the organisation of the lower levels of administration. A variety of material in the local, non-official, language, (i.e. Egyptian demotic and hieroglyphic), which records mainly private legal contracts and yet more tax receipts, are only beginning to be exploited in a systematic way. They are also increasingly studied in conjunction with the Greek official documents, especially through the work of that rare breed of scholars who combine the knowledge of classical languages with Egyptian. Taken together, the Greek and Egyptian material contributes to a rounder understanding of the organisation of the Ptolemaic economy, as it documents the social networks that developed on both the decision-making core and the local administration level.

The sheer volume of the available evidence, however, does not mean that its interpretation is devoid of problems; quite the contrary. The level of recorded detail renders Ptolemaic sources difficult to streamline. In addition, geographical and chronological inconsistencies in their distribution inhibit the drawing of generalised models. On the one hand, we have a lot of data from the Faiyum area (5-7% of the total arable land in Egypt) but not so much from elsewhere.[862] This discrepancy has led scholars to unduly generalise one set of circumstances over the entire *chora*. Rostovtzeff for instance, in his study of the Zenon archive, treated the documents as representing "*Egypt in miniature*."[863] On the other hand, urban centres, most notably Alexandria and Ptolemais, are hardly represented at all. Equally, in terms of chronological distribution, there is relatively little evidence dating from the reign of Ptolemaios I, while the amount of sources increases drastically for the reign of Ptolemaios II, reaching a peak during the reign of Ptolemaios III.[864] Precisely because we lack information for the formative first reign of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt,

[862] Manning (2003), pp. 13-21.
[863] Rostovtzeff (1922), p. 129.
[864] See graph (fig. 1) in Manning (2003), p. 17.

Ptolemaios II is usually credited with the major economic reforms that we see in place in the Zenon archive or the Revenue Laws.[865] It is very probable, however, that our present understanding is just an accident of preservation.

Current interpretations of the Ptolemaic economy are still largely based on the work of two scholars: Claire Préaux and Mikhail Rostovtzeff.[866] Although their syntheses are more than sixty years old now, they still form the starting point of any enquiry on the Ptolemaic economy. This comes as a consequence of their unparalleled mastery of the vast documentary evidence. However, Préaux's conclusions on the nature of the 'royal economy' are more descriptive than model driven. Her verdict that the entire economic organisation of the Ptolemaic kingdom was set up for the maximization of the king's revenues was based on the meticulous presentation, but not analysis, of the most important economic activities in the Ptolemaic Kingdom, as revealed in the papyri. Conversely, Rostovtzeff constructed a model, which ultimately set the tone for the scholarly outlook on the Ptolemaic economy for almost half a century. He viewed the Ptolemaic state as the household (*oikos*) of the ruler, in which the Ptolemaioi erected an elaborate, centrally planned state economy directed towards the accumulation of royal capital.[867] This economy was characterised by sustained economic growth driven by long-distance interregional trade, which was conducted by a rising bourgeois class.[868] Agricultural productivity was increased through the introduction of new technology and methods.[869] In short, he viewed the economic administration of the Ptolemaioi as akin to a "*Keynesian economic stewardship*."[870]

The view of Ptolemaic Egypt as a strongly centralised, dirigiste, economically rational and despotic state ruled by a militarised minority of Hellenes has also been influenced by Wittfogel's thesis of "hydraulic agriculture and despotism," which constitutes the first consistent attempt to explain the economic structures of ancient civilizations. According to this model, commonly known as 'oriental despotism', despotic empires developed because large-scale waterworks required centralised, "agro-managerial" supervision.[871] A ruler with monopoly control over water resources

[865] Rostovtzeff (1922), Tarn & Griffith (1952), Turner (1984), Manning (2008), p. 85.
[866] Préaux (1979), Rostovtzeff (1922, 1941).
[867] Préaux (1979), pp. 569-570.
[868] Rostovtzeff (1941), pp. 269-272. See also Manning (2003), pp. 130-131, (2006), pp. 259-260.
[869] Rostovtzeff (1941), esp. pp. 271-274, 411-414.
[870] As put aptly by Green (1991), p. 362.
[871] Wittfogel (1957). Similarly, see Eisenstadt (1963). Mann (1986), pp. 93-98.

and irrigation management concentrated all political and economic power in his person. This power was then exercised in an absolutist manner on all levels of state administration. Archaeological work in Pharaonic Egypt, however, has revealed that Wittfogel's thesis does not stand up to close scrutiny. The irrigation of the Nile floods was not controlled centrally, but regionally. In fact, the only major public work co-ordinated by the state was the drainage works in the Faiyum depression during the reign of Amenemhat III of the 12th Dynasty.[872] By the time this project was under way, however, the centrally planned organisation of the Pharaonic state was already established and could not have been influenced by a *de facto* decentralised management of hydraulic agriculture. Such a view of the state disregards the existence and importance of social networks in the organisation of production and exchange, thereby restricting the economic power of the ruler. It is against this background that Wittfogel's concept of a unitary, highly centralised state has been effectively dismissed as "*mythical*."[873]

The reconsideration of the 'strong state' paradigm has been one of the most important developments in Ptolemaic history in the past twenty years. The main postulates of Rostovtzeff's model of the Ptolemaic state have been all challenged. Préaux argued that technological innovation was not as pioneering or as widespread as Rostovtzeff would posit and Samuel maintained that the primary economic objective of the ruler was social and economic stability rather than infinite economic growth and wealth accumulation.[874] Additionally, Samuel expressed his reservation regarding the validity of Rostovtzeff's centrally planned and administered economy hypothesis, while Manning set out to demonstrate that the Ptolemaic economic administration was in fact far more decentralised than previously thought.[875] At the same time, there was a shift in the consensus regarding the influences on the organisation of the Ptolemaic economy. Although Rostovtzeff believed that the economic structures of the Ptolemaic Kingdom were inherited from their Pharaonic predecessors, only to be tweaked for the better accommodation of the conquerors' interests, recent scholarship has investigated other underlying traditions that might have influenced the Ptolemaic administration: Bingen stressed the connection of the

[872] Butzer (1976), pp. 39-57.
[873] Mann (1986), p. 10.
[874] Préaux (1966), Samuel (1983). This view is debatable on the grounds that ultimately social and economic stability is not a goal in itself. Rather, it is to be used as a springboard for minimised friction and lower compliance costs.
[875] Samuel (1989, 1993), Manning (2003, 2005, 2005b, 2006).

tax regulations present in the Revenue Laws with traditional Hellenic tax-farming techniques, while Manning argued that the Ptolemaic economic structures were built on Persian fiscal policy.[876] Equally, Hammond observed that property rights in the Argead Kingdom were quite similar to the Ptolemaic.[877] Despite all the revisionist work, however, the old model of the centrally planned, directed economy with structures carried over from the Pharaonic period, and adapted where possible, still persists in mainstream scholarship.[878] It will probably be years until the paradigm is shifted entirely. What is more, while the Pharaonic and Persian influences on the Ptolemaic economy have received a fair share of attention, so far there has been no serious attempt to investigate the influence of Argead prototypes in the economic organisation of early Ptolemaic Egypt. A comparison between the two will explore the likelihood of Makedonian economic structures migrating into early Ptolemaic Egypt. This is a fundamental connection, which, owing to the relative obscurity of the Argead economic organisation, has been the least recognised in the field of the economy, and certainly much less than in any of the monarchical power structures discussed in the previous chapters.

A Framework for Analysing the Structure of Economies

Since the unitary, centralised and bureaucratic model of the Ptolemaic state has undergone serious scrutiny and is no longer considered watertight, scholars have explored alternative frameworks for explaining the economic organisation of Ptolemaic Egypt. This thesis adopts the model advanced by the Stanford School, which is informed by the economic sociology put forward by Douglass North. His Neo-Institutional Economics approach has been fruitfully applied to ancient economies.[879] North argues that in order to analyse the framework of the organisation of a historical economy one needs to consider three things: a theory of the state, a

[876] Rostovtzeff (1941) believed that the organisation of the Ptolemaic economy did not involve a "*radical break*" with the Pharaonic past so much as a "*partial improvement*," p. 1197. Bingen (1978), Manning (2006).
[877] Hammond (1989), pp. 284-285.
[878] Mostly through the still quite influential work of Finley (1999), p. 154. See also Samuel (1989), p. 53, Manning (2005b), p. 176.
[879] See further North (1981), esp. chapters 1-9. For the application of his theory of the state and economic organisation, see Manning (2003).

theory of property rights and a theory of ideology. Together, these three dimensions form the institutions of an economy. The study of institutions, or what North calls "the rules of the game," compensates for the unrealistic, frictionless and institutionless economic world of perfectly operating markets presented by neo-classical economic theory.[880] Such a model cannot effectively account for change in society, especially when individuals make decisions not based on a rational calculation of their individual profit. Equally, it cannot explain stability, i.e. the reasons why a group of people remain loyal to the status quo, or obey social rules when they could evade them at their benefit. The examination of the "rules of the game" presupposes a theory of ideology, which can accommodate the 'irrational' element in human economic behaviour ignored by neo-classical theory.[881] Ideology can extend the lifespan of particular economic structures and institutions, even when they are inefficient, on the basis of a collective belief in their legitimacy. In the context of this thesis, a belief in the legitimacy of particular ruling houses and their right to extract taxes or organise production, as well as an embedded appreciation of monarchy as a valid mode of governance, minimized friction and the cost of enforcing compliance.

The second essential building block for understanding the organisation of an economy is property rights. The structure of property rights reflects which individuals or social groups in a political unit retain the exclusive authority to determine how a resource is used.[882] Contrary to the unitary model applied to ancient monarchies, property rights were seldom concentrated in the hands of the ruler. There were always rivalling political units or individuals from within the existing hierarchy that challenged the monopoly of the ruler's authority. The closer these substitutes were, the less freedom the ruler enjoyed to act in defiance of the needs and wants of his constituents. Put differently, property rights were borne out of the constant bargaining between the desires of the rulers for wealth maximization and the efforts of subjects to reduce transaction costs.[883] Based on the evidence it is interesting to examine which

[880] More specifically, the "rules of the game" according to NIE terminology are the basic formal legal rules and informal social norms, which govern individual behaviour and structure interaction, North (1993), pp. 5-6.

[881] In economic terminology, the term "irrational" refers to a purposefully non-efficient cost-benefit analysis.

[882] Alchian (2008). As North (1981) points out, "*the essence of property rights is the right to exclude*," p. 21.

[883] North (1981), p. 18. Put simply, transaction costs are the costs incurred in making an economic exchange. For instance, when purchasing a loaf of bread the transaction costs are the costs above and beyond the monetary cost of the loaf, e.g. tracking the most beneficial seller of bread, travelling to and from the place of sale, negotiating the sale price and ensuring the other party honours the agreement

individuals or groups actually shared in the ownership of the land and resources in Argead Makedonia and Ptolemaic Egypt.

Finally, as it is the state that determines the structure of property rights and ensures their enforcement, one needs to adopt a theory of the state. It is necessary, however, to clarify from the outset that in the context of the kingdoms in question the notion of the 'state' as an institution that guarantees political order does not apply. According to the distinction proposed by Münkler, the historical definition of the state, as defined by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1628, is juxtaposed by a trans-historical/universal definition, the application of which concept is not restricted by period or place. Argead Makedonia and Ptolemaic Egypt can best be described according to this second classification. As such, they were by no means an institutionalized power figuration set to guarantee the political order of a finite territory. Rather, these 'states' formed *in themselves* a political order centered on the monarch, whose main interests were power preservation and the collection of surplus and revenues.[884] In turn, the subjects acknowledged the legitimacy of that political order and paid taxes in exchange for services, such as justice, the preservation of order and protection.[885] Although this arrangement may sound like there was some form of contract in place between ruler and people, it is best to remember that, as Hume stated already in the 1740s, usurpation and conquest usually precede the formation of any type of contract.[886] Given the origins of both Argead Makedonia and Ptolemaic Egypt in military expansion and the preponderance of the threat of violence factor in decision-making, both on a domestic and interstate level, this thesis adopts North's neoclassical theory of the state, whereby "*a state is an organization with a comparative advantage in violence, extending over a geographic area whose boundaries are determined by its power*

through enforcement or compliance. All of these activities have an opportunity cost in terms of energy, money and time.

[884] These goals were pursued with the aid of a distinct group of people that frequented the court of the ruler and were known as the "*φίλοι*" or "*συγγενεῖς*:" the friends or relatives of the king, Münkler (1998).

[885] North (1981), pp. 23-24.

[886] Hume (1994), pp. 189-190. It is worth presenting here the debate between the contractual and predatory models of the state. The 'contractual' has been by far the most influential and argues that the reciprocal relation between the government and the populace is consensual. On the contrary, the 'predatory' or 'exploitation' model emphasizes as the sole objective of the rulers the maximization of their own wealth. Services are only provided to the populace insofar as they serve the same purpose. Whether these services have a positive impact on the welfare of the subjects is an unintended consequence of them being offered. See Moselle & Polak (2001).

to tax constituents."[887] Assuming an unequal distribution of violence potential, the structure of property rights in such an organization is oriented towards the wealth-maximization of the political centre, sidelining the wealth and welfare of its subjects. However, although predatory in origin, North's model still allows for contractual relationships to develop as military organization gives way to the peaceful day-to-day workings of the economy of the state.

It is against this background that this chapter examines those structures around which the Argead and early Ptolemaic economies were organised. It will be argued that complementary to firmly embedded Pharaonic traditions, revolving around the organisation of agriculture and irrigation, and the Persian fiscal practices in place at the time of Alexandros' conquest, the structures of the early Ptolemaic economy relied to a considerable extent on ideological and practical templates carried over from Argead Makedonia. It will be shown that these templates are especially related, albeit not limited, to the Makedonian administration of newly conquered lands, notably in their guise as spear-won territories. An examination of the structure of property rights in both Kingdoms will serve to support this connection.

The argument runs contrary to the postulates of the *Oikenwirtschaft* theory, whereby the ruler managed the economy of the state as an extension of his personal household. The economic power of the Argead and Ptolemaic ruler was not as centralised as previously thought and, significantly, it was not a correlate of personal shrewdness, although weaker kings had more trouble to sustain compliance across the extensive socio-economic networks of groups and agents, which were contractually bound to his authority.[888]

It is time then to examine "the rules of the [Makedonian and early Ptolemaic] game."

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[887] North (1981), p. 21. On the origins of the state in military organisation, see Spencer (1969, pp. 117, 125), Ritter (1969, pp. 7-8), Oppenheimer (1999).

[888] The contractual nature of the relationship involved the already mentioned supply of social goods such as justice, security and stability in exchange for economic goods (i.e. revenues). Weak leadership may have contributed to the uprisings in the Thebaid of 207-186 BCE, see further Eckstein (2006), pp. 104-107.

PROPERTY RIGHTS & ECONOMIC ACTORS

The property rights structure in Argead Makedonia and Ptolemaic Egypt was likewise a reflection of the prevailing notions of the state and its supporting ideology. In the preceding chapter on the structures of military power it has been argued that the role of the state in both kingdoms centred on the monopoly of physical force inherent in the nature of the Makedonian monarchy and used in order to maintain political order. The chapters on dynastic and court power structures highlighted the fact that the ability of the king to perpetuate his authority, and in this case to enforce property rights, rested to a large degree on the ideological cohesion provided by his perceived legitimacy of himself and that of the dynasty to do so. In these conditions, it is to be expected that, other than the prerogative to enforce them, the lion's share of property rights would lie with the king. His ownership, however, and by extent his economic power, was not universal. Rather, allowance was made for the participation of other individuals or groups in the property rights regime. It will be noted, however, that the groups that enjoyed such access were not the same in both Kingdoms.

THE KING

Land was a Kingdom's most important economic asset, yielding crops, minerals, timber and, importantly, taxes. Aristoteles conceded that it was also the origin of a king's power. As the *quid pro quo* for the loyalty of his subjects, the king assumed to all intents and purposes the role of an ardent gatherer and distributor of land.[889] The nature of royal ownership over the aforementioned resources, however, is not as straightforward as Hammond would have liked when he wrote that "[the kings] *owned all deposits of gold, silver, copper, iron, and other minerals; all stands of fine timber; and extensive areas of farm land and hunting parkland*."[890] In a letter to the Athenians Philippos II grieved the kidnapping of his messenger Nikias right from within his territory, "*ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐμῆς*."[891] In the same letter, he complained of the disingenuous behaviour of the Athenians, who, although not openly at war with the king, encouraged the disruption of sea-trade with Makedonia and ravaged his land, "*τὴν χώραν μου κακῶς*

[889] Aristot. *Pol.* 3.1285b: "*…πορίσαι χώραν, ἐγίγνοντο βασιλεῖς ἑκόντων καὶ τοῖς παραλαμβάνουσι πάτριοι*."
[890] Hammond (1989), p. 179.
[891] [Dem.] *Ἐπιστολὴ*[*Φιλίππου* 12.2.

ἐποιεῖτε."[892] Indeed, when referring to "my land" Philippos II could, just as well, be describing his relationship with it in a literal sense (as his own private property) or in a wider political sense (as the land of the Makedonian Kingdom, of which he was the Head). These nuances were picked up by scholars prior to Hammond, who argued against the personal ownership of the territory by the king.[893] Whether a king could claim ownership of the land and resources in the same absolute, legal manner that a private individual would over his private property, or as the hereditary designated trustee of a political unit acting on behalf of its members is pivotal for an understanding of his property rights. Although it is difficult to gauge with any degree of certainty the extent and nature of his hold over the Makedonian resources there are, however, few yet strong indications that point towards the latter, at least for parts of the lands under Makedonian rule.

At the head of this body of evidence stands Alexandros' explicit statement in the Opis Speech that he was no more than the guardian of the wealth of the Makedones that had been entrusted to him.[894] Despite the obvious problems posed by the historicity of this passage, comparative evidence from the neighbouring federal state of Thessalia, where the tax revenues were re-invested in the running of public affairs, reinforces the likelihood of a similar management of proceeds being in place in Makedonia.[895] Interestingly, Souda also defines public revenues (or affairs) as *not* the property of the sovereign power.[896] Additional evidence for the non-pervasive ownership of the king is to be found in epigraphy.

Land and Taxes in Argead Makedonia

Hatzopoulos' exhaustive study of Makedonian inscriptions (up until 1996) has crystallised the view that the possessions under the sovereignty (*ἀρχήν*) of the Makedonian king since the beginning of the fifth century consisted of territories that were always more extensive than those inhabited or colonised by Makedones.[897] His

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[892] [Dem.] *Ἐπιστολὴ*[*Φιλίππου* 12.5.
[893] Hampl (1934), pp. 10-56, Rosen (1970), pp. 65-79, Borza (1987), p. 39 n. 29.
[894] Arr. *Anab.* 7.9.9: "*κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδεῖξαι θησαυροὺς ἐμοὺς ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα, ὑμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα ἕνεκα ὑμῶν φυλάττεται*." See below, the section on the *Makedones*.
[895] Dem. *Ὀλυνθιακὸς Α* 1.22: "*ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἔτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι: τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν*." For the similarities between Thessalia and Makedonia in the political sphere, see Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 478-479, Archibald (2000).
[896] Suda s.v. *Βασιλεία* (148): "*…οὐ τὰ δημόσια τῆς βασιλείας κτήματα*."
[897] Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 167-216. Thoukydides speaks of Philippos's former "*ἀρχήν*" in the sense that he was sovereign over the lands now taken by the Thrakai, Thouk. 2.100.3-4. Philippos was the insubordinate brother of Perdikkas II, see Thouk. 1.57.3.

tripartite division of those lands into national, civic, and royal gave a sharper definition to the chameleonic perception of the extent of the Kingdom that puzzled earlier scholarship.[898] Most importantly, however, it revealed that the Makedonian king had different rights and obligations with respect to each one.

What Hatzopoulos called the 'national territory,' was the result of conquest and subsequent settlement by Makedones. Originally, it consisted of the Old Kingdom, to which was added Upper Makedonia.[899] Under Philippos II, Makedonian communities could be found from as far northwest as Alkomene in Derriopos, all the way to the basin of the river Strymon to the east.[900] Quite importantly for evaluating the extent of the king's property rights, there is no evidence to suggest that the individual Makedones and other private landholders within these boundaries were required to pay tax on their property to the royal treasury.[901] According to Curtius, the Makedones were 'free men' and as such they were exempt from paying tribute to the ruling authorities. Significantly, even in times of crisis the Makedones were not expected to contribute extraordinary funds (*εἰσφοραί*), as was the case in the city-state world.[902] It is telling that when Alexandros embarked on the Asian Expedition and found himself in need of cash he *borrowed* money from his courtiers, which in turn he repaid through the award of several grants.[903] But that is not to mean that landowners in the Kingdom were free-riding the system. To the contrary, according to extant accounts private individuals had to pay dues on goods imported and exported from their lands, as well as provide the state with a *per capita* public service and other regular financial contributions. The dead of the major battles of the Asian Expedition, according to Arrianos, were honoured by having their surviving immediate family

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[898] It is a fact that the borders of the Makedonian Kingdom were never rigidly set. They fluctuated over time reflecting the military success or failures of its rulers. To guard themselves from "*chasing a chameleon through the centuries*" ancient Makedonian historians made the distinction between a geographic and a political Makedonia, Hammond (1972-1988), I: pp. 3-5, followed by Borza (1992), pp. 28-30. According to Borza's conception, this corresponds to the use of the terms *Macedonia* (geographic designation) and *Macedon* (political designation), although he does not clarify how these two concepts work and how they are reflected in the sources.

[899] See further Edson (1970), Dell (1970).

[900] Peithon, son of Krateuas, from Alkomene is included among the Makedonian officers to man Alexandros III's triereis, Arr. *Ind.* 18.6. For the incorporation of Amphipolis in the Lower Strymon into the Makedonian Kingdom, see Hatzopoulos (1991). That the Strymon formed the physical eastern boundary of the Kingdom of Makedonia can also be deduced from the fact that Kynnane was not allowed to cross it with her army by Antipatros, Polyain. *Strateg.* 8.60.

[901] Curt. 6.6.11: "*Sed, opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est.*" Cf. Tertullianus (*Apologeticum* 13.6) who considered direct taxes on land as "*notae captivitatis.*"

[902] E.g. Antiph. *Κατηγορία φόνου ἀπαράσημος* 2.2.12. See Isager & Skydsgaard (1992), pp. 141-143. An *εἰσφορά* was an extraordinary tax on property that was required by the state mostly for military purposes.

[903] Plout. *Alex.* 15.1-3, Arr. *Anab.* 7.9.6, see also Appendix C no 55.

become exempt from taxes pertaining to their land (*κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε*) and other public services (*λειτουργίαι*) and levies (*κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἑκάστων εἰσφοραί*).[904] Given the free status of Makedonian citizens, the land-tax mentioned here would probably apply to those amongst the soldiers that were grantees of tracts of royal land. As regards the levies, although not much is known about them, it is possible that Alexandros was referring to the oft-recorded import and export taxes on goods that passed through Makedonian lands. One cannot be certain whether these dues were valid only on granted royal land, which is where most of our evidence comes from.[905] However, if one translates '*τὰς κτήσεις ἑκάστων*' as the 'properties of each' then quite probably this trade tax applied to private landowners within the national territory as well. Finally, the *λειτουργίαι* are the most obscure component of a Makedonas' contribution to the state. It seems doubtful whether in this case these included military service, especially since military obligations were specifically excluded from similar absolutions in the past.[906] In order to gain the favour of his father's soldiers the young king Alexandros granted to everyone 'immunity from all things,' except military service. Securing a constant supply of loyal military force was just as important during the Asian Expedition as at its eve, if not greater. Therefore, given also the absence of widespread slavery in the Kingdom, public services could have included the extraordinary participation of the Makedones in public works, either through their own manual labour, or through the provision of draught animals and other supplies.[907]

Civic land involved territories that came under the jurisdiction of individual cities, whether situated in the Makedonian kingdom or conquered by it but not annexed. The tax status of cities incorporated in the national territory is not entirely clear, but there is no evidence to suggest that they were subject to a property tax. It would also appear that formerly autonomous cities, such as Amphipolis for which we are better informed, maintained the right to dispose of the lands that belonged to

[904] Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.5, 7.10.4
[905] *SIG*[3] 135, *Syll*.[3] 332, *SEG* 47:940. See Hatzopoulos (1996) for other interpretations of those levies, pp. 439-440.
[906] Just. 11.1.10: *Macedonibus inmunitatem cunctarum rerum praeter militiae uacationem dedit*.
[907] Cf. the "*φόρος λητουργικός*" from the Mnesimachos inscription, *Sardis* 7.1 1.

them at will.[908] Still, in times of uncertainty the king would be called in to settle any territorial disputes with neighbouring communities or to set the civic boundaries.[909]

If conquered territories were not incorporated and colonised then, as a general rule, it appears that the land remained in the possession of the communities (*poleis* or *ethne*), which were now subject and allied ("*ξύμμαχα* […] *καὶ ὑπήκοα*") in a fashion similar to the incorporated territories. They were, however, under the obligation to pay some form of tribute and probably to supply contingents for the Makedonian army.[910] The composition of the army Perdikkas II mustered against Arravaios of Lynkos in the late fifth century BCE supports this argument. The king led a cavalry of Makedones and an infantry made up of Hellenes who lived in Makedonia ("*τῶν ἐνοικούντων Ἑλλήνων ὁπλίτας*"), followed by a host of barbarian light infantry.[911] Evidence for the payment of tribute of subject cities, especially from the reigns of Philippos II and Alexandros III, abounds.[912] A case in point is the city of Priene, which had to be explicitly relieved of this fiscal duty by decree of the Makedonian king himself.[913] The citizens of Priene, even if not residing in the city proper, were declared free and autonomous and owners of their lands in the countryside, as well as their houses in the city. By contrast, the non-Prienians, living in the surrounding villages, were subject to taxation.[914]

The last, but most important category of land in the Makedonian Kingdom in terms of revenue, was the so-called royal land (*χώρα βασιλική*). On certain occasions, rather than remaining in the hands of its pre-conquest owners, newly acquired land passed to the possession of the king himself. Most often, the king would recognize some strategic advantage to the territory in question (richness in natural resources, like timber, minerals or soil fertility) and would claim it as his own. The phrase normally associated with these lands in the literary sources is "*ἡ ἑαυτοῦ γῆ*."[915] That this simple possessive designation amounted to almost a *terminus technicus* is highlighted by its

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[908] See Hatzopoulos (1991).
[909] *SEG* 40:542: Philippos II was summoned to settle a boundary dispute in the area of Mygdonia. The extant inscription is probably a royal diagramma. For a similar case, see Appendix C no 25.
[910] Thouk. 2.99.2.
[911] For the supply of soldiers, see Thouk. 4.124.1. Cf. the discussion on recruitment and the 'territorial principle' in chapter 3.
[912] See Appendix C nos 14, 41, 59.
[913] *OGIS* 1 (= *I. Priene* 132) ll. 13-15: "*τῆς δὲ συντάξεως ἀφίημι τὴμ Πριηνέωμ πόλιν*." For other instances see Appendix C, especially the treatment of Persian cities after their conquest by Alexandros III, where a tax collector is normally appointed.
[914] *OGIS* 1 (= *I. Priene* 132) ll. 3-7: "*ὅσοι μέν εἰσι* [Πριηνεῖ]*ς, αὐτο*[νό]*μους εἶναι κα*[ὶ ἐλευθ]*έρους, ἔχ*[οντ]*α ς τήν τ*[ε γῆγ κ]*αὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν τ*[ῆι π]*όλει πά*[σα]*ς καὶ τὴγ χώραν·*"
[915] Thouk. 1.58.2, [Dem.] 7.39-41.

existence in inscriptions, such as the royal letter of Alexandros to the city of Priene: "*χώραγ*[γ]*ι νώσκω ἐμὴν εἶναι.*"[916] As such, the rights of the king on this land paralleled the rights of any private individual over their property. It is on rare occasions that the king is described as exploiting the land directly. According to Aischines, Philippos II owned some vineyards, which he worked with war prisoners from Olynthos.[917] The norm, however, was that agriculturally fertile land would be either leased out or granted to *ἑταῖροι*, *φίλοι* or other beneficiaries to exploit in return for *φόρος* (rent or tax).[918] Forests and land rich in minerals could be leased out or granted as well, but the resources themselves (timber and metals) appear to have remained in the jurisdiction of the king.

There is no conclusive evidence that forested areas and mines were automatically and exclusively owned by the king.[919] The common occurrence of the king granting gifts of timber can suggest that at least some of the forests were royal land.[920] Be that as it may, the bulk of the evidence is consistent in that the king directly controlled the trade of timber and enjoyed the relevant tax revenues from the leases.[921] First in support of this argument is that all the extant commercial treaties involving the sale of timber between Makedonia and third parties were conducted with the king as the sole representative of the Makedonian side.[922] Secondly, inscriptions such as the one recording the ban on timber sales imposed by Alexandros III in the land of Philippoi make it abundantly clear that the regulation of timber production was a royal prerogative.[923] This document also provides evidence for the engagement of individual entrepreneurs or groups of people in timber trade.[924] Their

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[916] *OGIS* 1 (= *I. Priene* 132).
[917] See Appendix C no 38.
[918] See Appendic C nos 22, 40, 55.
[919] Borza p. 39, n. 29. (Aristoteles (*Pol.* 6.1321b) preserves a mention of the magistracy of *ὑλωρός* (forester, responsible for timber), which he considered indispensable in safeguarding a state's resources. Given the wealth of Makedonia in timber and Aristoteles' background this magistracy could well have existed as a royal appointment in Makedonia. As such, it could be used as an argument in favour of the state possession of forests, but without any other corroborating evidence it has to remain a conjecture.
[920] See Appendix C nos 11, 17, 35.
[921] For the lease of *γῆ ἔνδενδρος*, see the royal grant of Lysimachos to Limnaios, *SEG* 38:619, Hatz. *Epig. App.* 21, see Appendix C no 22.
[922] See Appendix C nos 11, 14.
[923] See Appendix C no 48.
[924] In the late Antigonid period forests and mines were leased to individuals for exploitation, Liv. 45.29.10-11. In the case of forests at least the lease went to the highest bidder indiscriminately of ethnic background, Liv. 45.29.14.

involvement was most likely subject to the same produce tax due to the Crown, which Theophrastos' boastful man was happy to evade thanks to his royal connections.[925]

As far as mines are concerned, the literary sources mention that the Argead kings were able to extract large revenues from their exploitation.[926] Unfortunately, we do not know whether they were leased out, or worked by wagers who reported directly to the king's contractors. Since Philippos II is said to have invested in mining technology the latter method appears probable.[927] However, in the Roman Settlement of 167 BCE it is specifically mentioned that the mines were leased out to individual entrepreneurs who paid tax to the king.[928] The practice could have been similar to the administration of the Athenian silver mines at Laurion and elsewhere. In the case of Laurion, the state claimed ownership of the mines (but not of the lands above it), while farming out their leases to private individuals (the *poletai*, ten in number) for a fixed sum and a percentage of the workings.[929] Since all mining activities had to be registered with the state, the Athenian government retained control over the exploitation of precious metals.[930]

Tax farming as a method of reassigning the burden of tax collection to the highest bidder in public auctions was not unknown in Argead Makedonia. Aristoteles preserves the financial re-organisation effected by Kallistratos for Perdikkas III, which doubled the royal revenues from harbour dues.[931] The *ellimenion* tax reflected the right of ownership over the actual water of the harbour and presumably of the use of the port facilities. It is the final resource located within the bounds of the national territory (alongside timber and metals) that the king could claim direct and unlimited control of.[932]

Royal land, the most profitable of all the types of land discussed above, has to be distinguished from the national territory. Other than mines, forests and ports the

[925] See Appendix C no 51, and also no 9.
[926] Alexandros I: Appendix C no 3, Philippos II: Appendix C nos 28, 33.
[927] Diod. 16.8.6-7: "*ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ηὔξησεν*…"
[928] Liv. 45.29.10-11.
[929] A series of leases to individuals dating down to the early third century BCE has been preserved on inscriptions, see Austin (1994), pp. 545-546 with ancient and modern references. See also Shipton (1998) .
[930] Hyper. *Ὑπὲρ Εὐξενίππου εἰσαγγελίας ἀπολογία πρὸς Πολύευκτον* 4.34.
[931] See Appendix C no 19.
[932] See also Appendix C no 31, for the appropriation of the Thessalian harbour dues by Philippos II following his victory at the Krokos Field.

king possessed explicitly nothing else within the Kingdom of Makedonia proper.[933] Whenever land was designated as *ἡ ἑαυτοῦ* it always involved territories lying outside national and civic borders. For example, when Perdikkas II made a gift of Mygdonia to the Chalkidians this was not incorporated in the Kingdom.[934] The same applied to the district of Anthemous that Amyntas I offered to Hippias at the close of the sixth century and to Potidaia that Philippos II gave to the Olynthians.[935] This is where the concept of spear-won territory (*Γῆ δορίκτητος*) becomes relevant. Land won in conquest never belonged straightaway to the Kingdom of Makedonia proper and did not do so unless it was distributed to the Makedones.[936] Instead, spear-won territory was equivalent to Crown territory, which the king could exploit directly, lease out or grant to third parties.[937] What the Athenians failed to grasp in the debacle concerning the island of Halonnesos was that since Philippos II delivered the island from pirates, then according to the prescripts of royal property rights it belonged to him by right of conquest. He was hitherto at liberty to grant it to whomsoever he pleased, even if it was back to its former owners; the operative word being 'former.'[938]

LAND AND TAXES IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

Experts on Ptolemaic economic history have argued that the structure of the Ptolemaic economy owed much to the Persian imperial administration that preceded it, while it formed a continuation of Pharaonic developments in irrigation and agriculture.[939] From the point of view of the native Egyptians, they speak of the Ptolemaic takeover as a seamless process, whereby a Makedonian Pharaoh and his dynasty merely replaced an equally foreign dynast, the Persian, without much fanfare.[940] In the field of economic structures, accommodation to the old institutional practices, as opposed to radical change, is stressed.[941] The process of developing what became known as the 'royal economy' was slow and it is argued that it only took off

[933] Hatzopoulos (1996) has tried with a considerable degree of conviction to demonstrate that the 'national' territory was "exhaustively divided between *poleis* and *ethne*," the latter being rural communities, p. 220.
[934] Appendix C no 4. Hatzopoulos (1996), p. 174.
[935] Appendix C nos 3, 26. Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 174-175.
[936] Both Mygdonia and Anthemous were incorporated in the Makedonian Kingdom after 348 BCE under Philippos II, Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 189-199.
[937] See Appendix no 40.
[938] Dem. *Περὶ Ἁλοννήσου* 7.2.
[939] Manning (2003), pp. 8-9, (2006), esp. pp. 266-267. For the development of plantation districts in Pharaonic Egypt as a model of land development in later periods, see Eyre (1994).
[940] Manning (2003), p. 158.
[941] Rostovtzeff (1941), pp. 1197, Shipley (2000), p. 196.

under Ptolemaios II Philadelphos.[942] As far as innovations in the economic organisation of the kingdom are concerned these are recognized to be the introduction of public auction and royal banks, both described as Hellenic institutions.[943] In short, the role of Makedonian economic structures in the organisation of Ptolemaic Egypt is conspicuously absent from the literature. The underlying reason for that is without a doubt the state of the evidence. In many ways, it is a situation similar to the obscure role of Ptolemaios I in the economic consolidation of Ptolemaic sovereignty, whereby scarce evidence is taken to indicate limited influence and state activity.[944] His marginalisation in favour of his son is largely driven by the dearth of contemporary material and the abundance of third century BCE evidence, such as the Revenue Laws Papyrus (*P. Rev.*) and the archives of Zenon of Kaunos (*P. Cair. Zen.*), secretary to the King's financial right hand, the *dioiketes* Apollonios. However, discounting entirely the level of migration of the Makedonian 'rules of the game' to early Ptolemaic Egypt provides a distorted understanding of the structure of its economy on a state level. Argead Makedonia was a monarchical state, whose structures allowed what Giddens called a high-level of time-space distanciation. This is nothing else than a jargonic expression to denote that as a state Argead Makedonia possessed the necessary tools (writing, recording, monetisation, symbolic tokens of standardised value recognised beyond the local level) that enhanced the ability of its structures and practices to be reproduced across time and space.[945] What is more, the epigraphic evidence that has accumulated in Makedonia over the past thirty years renders the consideration of that migration imperative in discussions concerning institutions in the Hellenistic kingdoms. The fact that there is marked institutional continuity with Persian economic administration and Pharaonic practice does not necessarily clash with the possibility that a Makedonian organisational template might have been influential.

Going back to the property rights of the king in Ptolemaic Egypt, as Pharaoh in the eyes of his Egyptian audience, he was in principle the ultimate owner of the

[942] Rostovtzeff (1922), Tarn & Griffith (1927), Turner (1984), Manning (2008), p. 85. For an analysis of the royal economy, see Rostovtzeff (1941), pp. 267-316, Préaux (1979).
[943] On public auctions, see Manning (2003), pp. 160-161. On Ptolemaic banks, see Bogaert (1994).
[944] See Manning (2005), p. 8.
[945] See further Giddens (1981), ch. 4.

land and all its inhabitants.[946] According to Makedonian practice, the acquisition of Egypt in conquest ('by the spear') put the king in a similar position. As far as the realities of the state are concerned though, there were two types of land: land that yielded rent and land for which rent was foregone. The latter category, which is described in Hellenic administrative documents as *γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει*, included the land granted to *klerouchoi* and temple estates.[947] As in Makedonia, the major rent yielding land was royal land. This was granted as a gift to private individuals (*δωρεά*) or rented to royal farmers. From the former the king collected an annual tax.[948] Apart from designated royal land, the most impressive and lucrative portion of which was the Faiyum depression, the Ptolemaic king did not interfere much with the existing land tenure régime.[949] Principally, he appears to have appropriated unclaimed and underused land (as in the Faiyum) and the right to assign parts of it to his soldiers or friends. Temple ownership was largely undisturbed and small-scale holdings that could be classed as 'private' land continued to exist, especially in Upper Egypt. That being said, however, evidence shows that these holdings, usually orchards or house plots, were taxed at the same rate as royal land.[950]

The right of the Ptolemaic king to tax all classes of land, apart from klerouchic and temple estates, and most types of produce is in practice the equivalent of actually owning the land. From the outset, the Persian practice of paying a fixed annual tribute to the king was abandoned in favour of a system designed to yield the maximum amount of income to the ruler through taxation.[951] The regional variation in the type of taxes, the medium in which they were paid and the amount collected demonstrates the willingness of the early Ptolemaioi to secure a stable revenue by accommodating their practices to the established order.[952] This can be explained both in neoclassical economic terms, as an effort by the new rulers to avoid the excessive transaction costs that a full restructuring of the already existing economic system would entail, as well as by their adherence to an already existing model of economic administration imported from Makedonia.

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[946] This was not the case in Persia, Aperghis (2004), pp. 88-89. See also Diod. 1.73.2-7, who claims that in Egypt one third of the land belonged to the king, one third to the priestly class and one third to the Egyptian *klerouchoi*.
[947] Keenan and Shelton (1976), pp. 2-10.
[948] Billows (1995), p. 125.
[949] Royal land was mostly concentrated in the Faiyum and the neighbouring Oxyrhynchite and Heracleopolite nomes, Rowlandson (1985).
[950] Manning (2003), pp. 71-72 with references.
[951] Hdt. 3.91.2-4 records that this amounted to 700 talanta.
[952] See for example the regional variations of the harvest tax, Manning (2003), pp. 59-61.

The New Lands Paradigm

Recent scholarship has tried to dispel the view that Ptolemaic Egypt was governed as spear-won territory. At the same time concessions are made for the role of Ptolemaios I, however badly recorded, in setting the foundations for the organisation of the state.[953] It will be argued that these two views are in fact hardly reconcilable. On the one hand, the literary sources are quite explicit that Ptolemaic Egypt was territory spear-won for Ptolemaios.[954] On the other, the evidence from Argead Makedonia regarding the administration of newly-acquired territories points to the fact that spear-won land, and its concomitant equation with crown land, did not necessarily involve the wholesale displacement and appropriation of all people and all property. The example of Philippos II's gradual integration of Amphipolis within the national state will serve to support the view that the partial accommodation of the Egyptian property rights structure by the Ptolemaic dynasty did not constitute a deviation from the norms of administering spear-won land that the king did not wish to reserve for private exploitation.[955]

Amphipolis, strategically placed by the river Strymon, was not incorporated in the Makedonian national territory immediately after it was conquered by Philippos II in 357 BCE. Hatzopoulos concluded that the city remained a theoretically independent ally of the Makedonian king for no more than a year, while Griffith placed a *terminus ante quem* in 343 BCE.[956] Whatever the date of incorporation a series of Amphipolitan sale deeds studied by Hatzopoulos reveals that the process involved the preservation of both civic institutions and the original population in place. It seems that the only individuals who were evicted from the city were the political adversaries of Philippos.[957] A vital ingredient of the incorporation of the city to the Makedonian state, as we have seen, was its settlement by Makedones. A study of ethnics demonstrates that the population of Amphipolis was replenished by Makedones originating not only from the Old Kingdom, but also from Upper Makedonia.[958] As far as civic institutions are concerned, Philippos retained the same

[953] Manning (2003), pp. 140, 158.
[954] Arr. *Diad*. F 1 34.
[955] The following discussion owes much to Hatzopoulos (1991), (1996), pp. 181-189. For an enumeration of the phases of incorporation (4), see also Errington (2002), pp. 16-17.
[956] Hatzopoulos (1991), (1996), p. 184. Walbank based his chronology on the existence inter alia of a Makedonian cavalry unit from Amphipolis, Hammond, Griffith & Walbank (1972-1989) II, pp. 351-356.
[957] Diod. 16.8.2.
[958] Hatzopoulos (1996), p. 182.

epistates, Sparges, for a number of years.[959] Other civic magistracies also remained in place, such as the board of the *polemarchoi*. However, what is most interesting to observe in the case of Amphipolis is the harmonious political and civic co-existence of Makedonian immigrants with the local Amphipolitans and especially the élite, which continued to provide the human resources to man important administrative positions. It is telling that in the deeds of sale none of the magistrates, not even the newly introduced eponymous priest of Asklepios, bears a typically Makedonian name.[960] On a wider social level, the onomastic corpus by Tataki offers evidence that the city became fully Makedonian, but at the same time remained distinctly Amphipolitan. The co-existence of the ethnics *Makedon ex Amphipoleos*, but also the far more widely attested plain *Amphipolites* bear testimony to what Hatzopoulos has aptly described as the "*open society*" of the kingdom of Makedonia and Hammond has praised as the inclusiveness of the Makedonian polis. Both appraisals stand in stark contrast to the racially exclusive city-state of the south.[961]

Overall, spear-won territory was put to use at the discretion of the king. Some times population pressures and security concerns would dictate the re-settlement of Makedones in frontier locations, where better agricultural land was on offer and where enemies could be kept easier at check. Strategic advantages were recognised by the king and such transfers took place possibly even before the reign of Perdikkas II, while they intensified under Philippos II.[962] Other times, cities could be completely razed to the ground (such as Methone) and re-settled purely with Makedones for reasons that the sources do not clarify.[963] However, beyond the national borders cities with mixed populations seem to have been the norm.[964] When it was deemed advantageous the Makedonian state had devised an administrative system that was characterised by racial and institutional flexibility. Hammond may be right when he asserts that this was one of the greatest contributions of the Makedonian state to

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[959] For the debate on the role of the *epistates*, which some interpret as a royal appointed overseer, see Tarn (1913), pp. 194-196, Bengtson (1952), pp. 317-330. Follow epigraphic references in Hatzopoulos (1996), p. 371. Hatzopoulos (1996) argues that the *epistates* was a regular civic magistrate, pp. 372-396. For Holleaux (1897) the epistates was a "*gouverneur, un homme de confiance du souverain*," p. 452. Even on etymological grounds alone, the author would opt for an interpretation viewing the *epistates* as a royal overseer, see also Hammond (1999).
[960] Hatzopoulos (1991).
[961] Tataki (1998), pp. 45-63, Hatzopoulos (1996), p. 182. See the comments in Hammond (1993).
[962] Theag. *BNJ* 774 F 3, Thouk. 1.58.2, Diod. 13.49.1-2, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Pella* for the earliest instances of population transfers. See further Appendix C nos 10, 12.
[963] Appendix C no 30, Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 179-181.
[964] Appendix C nos 41, 43.

posterity.[965] Rather than emphasising solely Pharaonic or Persian influence in the organisation of the Ptolemaic economy, which of course has enormous merit when one studies the intricacies of that system, it is the contention of the author that the institutional flexibility exhibited by the economic organisation of the early Ptolemaioi can be seen to have its roots in the Argead paradigm of administering the Kingdom's New Lands.

THE ENTREPRENEURS

There existed individuals and groups within the Argead and Ptolemaic Kingdoms that enjoyed quite significant property rights over portions of land and its revenues. To the extent that their property rights intersected with that of the king, this section will discuss the entrepreneurs of the monarchical state.

The most important economic link between the king and individual entrepreneurs were the land grants (*δωρεαί*). These were given as gifts usually to *hetairoi* and *philoi* at the ruler's discretion. As already discussed in Chapter Two, land grants were utilised by both the Argead and the early Ptolemaic kings as a tool for attracting talented individuals. Nearchos, the admiral of Alexandros III's fleet, a Kretan by birth, received a grant and settled in Amphipolis during the reign of Philippos II.[966] The same applied for the Mytilenian brothers Erigyios and Laomedon, both *hetairoi* to Alexandros III.[967] Similarly, during the early years of Ptolemaic expansion individual Makedones, the closest associates of the Ptolemaic kings, received substantial land grants. Apollonios the *dioiketes* received ten thousand arouras in the new town of Philadelphia in the Faiyum and some land in the Memphite nome.[968] Between Makedonia and Ptolemaic Egypt the land grant lost its hereditary (*ἐμ πατρικοῖς καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις*) and alienable (*κυρίοις οὖσι κεκτῆσθαι καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀποδόσθαι*) qualities.[969] In the latter they became strictly personal holdings, identified by the name of the holder (*Ἀπολλωνίου*).[970] In both kingdoms, however, the king retained his right to revoke the grant. Thus, we find Perdikkas, son of Koinos, confirming in the reign of Kassandros, the land grant that

[965] Hammond (1993).
[966] Arr. *Ind.* 18.4, 10.
[967] Thomas (2007), p. 61.
[968] See Rostovtzeff (1922), p. 42.
[969] See Appendix C nos 22, 40.
[970] See Rostovtzeff (1922), pp. 48-49.

was given to his grandfather by Philippos II.[971] Apollonios it seems had his confiscated when Ptolemaios Euergetes succeeded his patron Philadelphos.[972] It is not entirely clear whether this was because his commission as *dioiketes* ended (i.e. land grants were entirely dependent on the status of the grantee) or because of some personal fallout.

In terms of financial obligations, the gift did not come free. The grantees were still expected to pay the *phoros* of crown land to the king. By giving away the land, the king on his part had possibly foregone the produce taxes (*εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι καὶ πωλοῦντι καὶ ὠνουμένωι*), while his beneficiaries received the rents from the actual cultivators.[973] As temporary landowners they had significant power over their contracted employees, as well as over production. In Ptolemaic Egypt, however, the king was not a sort of absentee landlord. Documents, such as *P. Cair. Zen.* 2 59155 (256 BCE), present him directly interfering in the cultivation of the land.[974] Land grants, therefore, were used both as a means to gratify and reward loyal courtiers by diverting revenue to them, but at the same time, remained under the jurisdiction of the king, who could manipulate production in favour of intensification.

Other than the fact that the king's friends were largely associated with extensive land ownership, either granted by the king or by virtue of their own aristocratic status, not much is known about the economic activities of grantees in Argead Makedonia.[975] Recent excavations at Argilos, a city just to the west of the Strymon mouth, have revealed a large and solidly built farmhouse crowning the acropolis of the city. It has been suggested by the excavators that it may have been the headquarters of a large estate given to one of Philippos' *hetairoi* in the second half of the fourth century BCE.[976] The farmhouse complex contained a well-preserved rotary

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[971] Appendic C no 22. It may be that the reconfirmation of land grants was not standard practice, but rather in this case reflected the incorporation of the grant into the civic land of Kassandreia, thus blurring its status.

[972] He was also stripped of his commission as *dioiketes*, Rostovtzeff (1922), pp. 18-20.

[973] For the *phoros* see Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 435-436. Cf the Mnesimachos inscription in Billows (1995), Aperghis (2004). The Zenon archive preserves a variety of agreements between Apollonios and groups of farmers, who rented plots belonging to the estate. Some parcels were given over to *klerouchoi*, see Manning (2003), p. 113, n. 86 with references.

[974] See also Rostovzeff (1922), pp. 48-49.

[975] Theopompos *FGrHist* 156 F 225b. See, however, the third century BCE evidence of a certain Zopyros (it is unknown whether he was in the entourage of a king), who according to recently studied deeds of sale from Mieza had bought extensive tracts of land in the area aiming to form a 'super-estate,' Hatzopoulos, M.B. (2007). *An Old and New Inscription from Mieza: the Constitution of Extensive Landed Properties in the Central Macedonian Plain and the Question of λαοί in Hellenistic Macedonia*, unpublished conference paper. Abstract available at http://www.currentepigraphy.org/2007/09/06/ciegl-xiii-thematic-panel-23-'the-epigraphy-of-macedonia'/, last accessed 19 March 2010.

[976] Summary of findings in the site of the excavators: http://www.argilos.org, last accessed 23 March 2010, see also Foxhall (2007), pp. 159-161.

olive crusher, which could indicate one of the main crops of the estate. There is no evidence to suggest that the king would interfere in production, either in terms of what was cultivated or how much. Rather, it seems that the nature of the land grants in Argead Makedonia satisfied the need to preserve and enhance the loyalties of the courtiers, but also fostered strong expectations of reciprocity, which are most amply manifested in the king's ability to turn to his courtiers when he was in need of financial assistance.[977]

It has been suggested that the granting of land had precedents in Achaimenid practice and in the grand estates of the Pharaonic period.[978] However, in agreement with Billows, this thesis believes that the contractual relationships formed between the king and the entrepreneur/grantees in Ptolemaic Egypt are highly reminiscent of Argead practice.[979] Even if the evidence so far seems to suggest that the royal grip on the Ptolemaic gift estates was more concentrated, the basic idea of ensuring compliance, remunerating collaborators and binding them in reciprocal financial obligations through land grants was already there in Argead Makedonia. What is more, the granting of gift estates was another way of asserting royal control over new or reclaimed lands. Philippos II had set a precedent when he allocated the reclaimed marshlands in Philippoi, a practice that the first Ptolemaioi repeated in the Faiyum depression.[980] In that, there is no obvious reason why they (and indeed the gift estates in Ptolemaic Egypt are mostly attested in the early period down to the reign of Ptolemaios Euergetes) should be following any other template.[981]

Other than the king and individual entrepreneurs there is evidence of two other important economic actors partaking in the property rights régime under the umbrella of the monarchy: the Makedones and Temples. Both cases, however, are a testament to the structural discontinuities arising from the necessary adaptation to different local conditions. While the former economic group disappears in the

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977 Appendix C nos 54, 55.
978 Achaimenid: Rostovtzeff (1922), pp. 143-144, Briant (1982), pp. 310-316, Aperghis (2004), pp. 103-104. Pharaonic: Eyre (1994).
979 Billows (1995).
980 Appendix C, nos 29, 48. Archaeological excavations in the town of Tebtynis in the area of the Faiyum have revealed that a wave of around 6.500 *klerouchoi* were settled there during the reign of Ptolemaios I, see Gallazzi (1989), Manning (2003), pp. 108-110. Further evidence in support of an early date for the reclamation of the Faiyum comes from the choice of village toponyms, which seem to correspond to the names of the Alexandrian demes. It is thus quite plausible that the Faiyum was developed simultaneously with Alexandria under Ptolemaios I, Clarysse (2007), Mueller (2006), p. 151.
981 Rostovtzeff (1922), p. 145.

transition from Argead to Ptolemaic, the latter makes a dynamic entry in the property rights structure of the Makedonian state in Ptolemaic Egypt, controlling extensive tracts of land and enjoying lavish tax privileges.[982]

THE MAKEDONES

The Makedones as an ethnic group present an interesting component of the property rights structure in the Argead Kingdom.[983] Although their organisation and role in the political administration is admittedly obscure, there is enough epigraphic and literary evidence to identify them as a nominal (at the very least), yet quite distinct, economic actor.[984] Perhaps the most telling anecdote of the nature of the relationship between the Makedones and their King can be found in Arrianos' rendition of Alexandros' speech at Opis. There, the king is presented as the guardian of the wealth that belongs to the Makedones, which is also his only property: "*I own nothing myself, nor has anyone treasures of mine to show, save these possessions of yours, or what is being safeguarded for you.*"[985] Although frequently dismissed as a rhetorical exercise, which in its details it probably was (as we have seen above, the Makedonian king was in fact the owner of royal land and did control the accruing revenues directly) the

[982] The most important texts for the third century BCE are the Edfu Donation Text, inscribed on the outer wall of the Temple of Horus at Edfu, the Hauswaldt Papyri (*P. Hausw.*) and the Milon Archive (*P. Eleph.*). For the hieroglyphic text and a translation of the Edfu Donation Text, see Meeks (1972) and Manning (2003), App. 1. For *P. Hausw.*, see Manning (1997). For *P. Eleph.*, see Clarysse (2003).

[983] For a summary of the different meanings (geographical, political, military) of Makedones, see Hammond (1995). Following Hdt. 8.137-139, Thouk. 2.99, Ps. Skylax 66, Hammond (1995a) and Hatzopoulos (1996, pp. 160-161, 167-171, 204-209, 219) this thesis accepts that not all the populations under Makedonian rule were considered Makedones, e.g. Illyrians, Chalkidians etc. were still known as such under the expanded kingdom of Philippos II. Makedones (or else, the Makedonian ethnos) were the inhabitants of Lower (Hdt. 7.173.1: *Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω*) and Upper Makedonia (Hdt. 7.173.4, 8.137.1: *ἄνω Μακεδονίην*), as well those that were transplanted to the cities of Makedones (Diod. 31.8.4: *πόλεις Μακεδόνων*) in the conquered lands, beyond the Axios and the Strymon. Through this process of re-settlement and colonisation the new possessions gradually would become part of "*τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν τὴν Μακεδόνων*," [e.g.. *SEG* 12.374, ll. 5-6, 243 BCE: *asylia* decree addressed to King Antigonos, the citizens of Pella and the rest of the land of the Makedones – *Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 58, Rigsby (1996), no 23]. It has to be underlined that the designation Makedones was not dependent on any strict notions of blood or ethnicity. A prosopographical study of Amphipolitans, undertaken by Hatzopoulos (1991), has demonstrated that the pre-annexation local élite was quite quickly fused with the new Makedonian element to form the new citizen body of what was now a Makedonian city.

[984] Depending on where they stand on the constitutionalist-absolutist continuum, scholars have assigned the Makedones full or nil participation in the economic activities of the Kingdom. On the one hand, Hatzopoulos (1996) suggested that, at least for the Antigonid period, there might have even existed two separate treasuries: a royal and a Commonwealth one, p. 432. Given the lack of evidence, however, that would constitute a leap of faith. On the other hand, scholars like Tréheux (1988), have denied the Makedones any degree of financial autonomy, pp. 45-46; an opinion that is rendered forfeit by evidence dating long before the Antigonidai came to power.

[985] Arr. *Anab.* 7.9.9, "*κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδεῖξαι θησαυροὺς ἐμοὺς ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα, ὑμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα ἕνεκα ὑμῶν φυλάττεται.*"

essence of this passage cannot be easily dismissed: i.e. that the King had to recognize property rights to his Makedonian subjects.[986] Curtius reiterated the notion that the Makedones partook in the property rights structure of the Kingdom, *viva voce Meleagris*. Routing against the succession of Roxanne's unborn child during the negotiations in Babylon, Meleagros hurried the soldiers to plunder Alexandros' amassed wealth by stating that the people (the Makedones) were in fact the rightful recipients of the treasures of the king.[987]

Epigraphic evidence from the turn of the fourth century onwards, written with the hardly contested vocabulary of official administrative documents, adds support to this argument. In the earliest relevant reference we possess, which dates from the reign of Amyntas III (*c.* 393/392 BCE), the Koinon of the Chalkidians was allowed to export pitch and other ship-building materials from Makedonia as long as the appropriate customs dues were paid, not to king Amyntas, with whom a defensive alliance was concluded on the obverse of the same inscription (*Ἀμύνται τῶι Ἐρριδαίου καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι*), but to the Makedones (*Μακεδόσιν*).[988] Further support to the seemingly tangible economic role of the Makedones is recorded in the literary sources. There, they are presented in several instances as the recipients of state revenues. Diodoros states that after the conquest of Thrake by Philippos II the Thrakians were required to pay tithes from their agricultural produce and trade to the Makedones ("*…προσέταξε δεκάτας τελεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν*").[989] Equally, as punishment for their defection, the people of the city of Aspendos in Asia Minor were obliged to pay an annual tribute to the Makedones ("*φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὅσα ἔτη Μακεδόσι*").[990]

Other evidence presents the Makedones as the collective recipients of land tracts. Following the destruction of Methone in 354 BCE and the expulsion of its citizens Philippos II distributed its land to the Makedones ("*…τὴν δὲ χώραν διένειμε*

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[986] For an interpretation of the Opis speech (esp. the part referring to Philippos II – Arr. *Anab*. 7.9.2-5) as reflecting a Platonic (cf. *Nomoi* 3.676a-682e) rhetorical *topos*, see Montgomery (1997), p.103, Bosworth (1988), pp. 103-107, *contra* Nagle (1996), pp. 156-157. According to this view, literary references to the evolution of lifestyle from transhumant pastoralism and mountain living to settled agriculture in the plains are used as a standard medium for describing economic change. For a recent overview of the debate regarding the historicity of the Opis Speech, see Nagle (1996), who stresses the authenticity of the essence of the speech, pp. 152-155.

[987] Curt. 10.6.23, "*Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurritis? harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres*."

[988] *SIG*[3] 135, Hatzopoulos (1996), *Epig. App*. 1.

[989] Diod. 16.71.2.

[990] Arr. *Anab*. 1.27.4.

τοῖς Μακεδόσιν").[991] Similarly, pseudo-Skymnos records that Oisyme, formerly a colony of Thasos, was refounded as Emathia during the reign of Philippos II and thereafter belonged to the Makedones ("…*πρότερον Οἰσύμη πόλις Θασίων γενομένη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μακεδόνων*..").[992] Likewise, an important recently discovered inscription records the re-organisation of the site of Kalindoia, where Alexandros III simply gave its land and that of the surrounding territories to the Makedones: "*βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἔδωκε Μακεδόσι Καλίνδοια καὶ τὰ χωρία τὰ περὶ Καλίνδοια·*."[993] It has been argued by the editor of the inscription that the Makedones in question were specific individuals who received separate land grants.[994] However, it is unlikely that if that were the case the details of the separate grants would be spared from the inscription.[995] What is more, the colonisation of cities, new and old, by Makedones appears to have evolved into a standard way of consolidating Makedonian rule (*arche*) over newly conquered territories at least since the reign of Amyntas III.[996] Even within the ancestral kingdom populations were moved *en masse* when political, military and economic exigencies pointed to greater advantages. Such expectations must have prompted Archelaos to relocate the city of Pydna some four kilometres inland from its original site.[997] Equally, a study of onomastics, as well as the archaeology of Pella, reveals that the transfer of the capital from Aigai at the turn of the fourth century BCE must have involved significant population movements.[998] In agreement with Hammond, the re-organisation of Kalindoia and the cession of its land to the Makedones signalled the creation of a new Makedonian city in the Chalkidian Peninsula, complete with a priesthood to mark the beginning of the new

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[991] Diod. 16.34.5.
[992] Ps.-Skymnos 656-658, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Οἰσύμη*.
[993] *SEG* 36:626, ll. 5-10. For the dating of the re-organisation in 335/334 BCE, see Hammond (1988). The stele was set up in 323 BCE, Vokotopoulou (1986), p. 97.
[994] Vokotopoulou (1986), who draws a parallel with Plout. *Alex.* 15.3, where the king is presented as having distributed his possessions to those of his friends who would accept them. *Contra* Griffith (1965), p. 136.
[995] Individual beneficiaries were usually named (e.g. Apollophanes of Kardia, Dem. 7.39-41, Perdikkas of Koinos, *Syll.*[3] 332). Compare with *SEG* 34:664, where the recipients of land are collectively Thrakes (col. B, ll. 3-6), and the citizens of Philippoi, (col. A, l. 9, col. B, ll. 9-10).
[996] For a summary see Hammond (1972-1988), II, p. 174.
[997] The move followed the successful re-incorporation of Pydna to Archelaos' domains after its sedition in 410 BCE, Diod. 13.49.1-2.
[998] Hammond (1972-1988), II, p. 56, Hatzopoulos (1996) I, pp. 171-173 with references. Both Archelaos and Amyntas III are credited with the transfer of the capital (Archelaos: Ellis-1994, p. 726, Greenwalt-1999, Amyntas III: Hatzopoulos-1996, p. 172, n. 3, Hansen-2004, no 543). No primary source documents the instigator and all interpretation rests on archaeological evidence. In the fifth century, however, Thoukydides still regarded the region of Pella and its environs as Paionian, Thouk. 2.99.4. See Appendix nos 10, 41, 43.

era.[999]

Apart from recipients, the Makedones are also presented as dispensers of state monies. The extant evidence points to a concentration of financial activity in the religious sphere, where the Makedones are represented managing amounts of very significant size. A Delphic inscription of 325 BCE records the payment of 10.500 staters donated directly by the Makedones to the Delphic Amphiktyony ("[Μ]*ακεδόνες Ἀρχέπολις, Ἄγιπ*[πος], [σ]*τατῆρας μυρίους πεντακοσ*[ίους]").[1000] Their contribution precedes and follows that of the Delphian and the Pagasitan ethne accordingly.[1001] The role of the king in this case appears limited to the appointment of the representatives of the Makedones.[1002] Equally remarkable, however, is the actual sum of money donated. Whether paid in silver or gold staters, the contribution of the Makedones was by several thousands the most generous in the list.[1003]

Unfortunately, we are very badly informed as to how the purported finances of the Makedones were planned and administered; how were the taxes, tribute and profits from the use of the land gathered, where were they stored and how decisions were reached regarding their investment. The extant evidence does not allow us to establish whether the Makedones disposed of a treasury that was separate from the royal, as some scholars have suggested.[1004] The reference of Titus Livius to the royal treasury on the island citadel of Phakos situated in the marshlands surrounding Pella is the only one we possess.[1005] The evidence, however, does lend support to the suggestion that the Makedones disposed of their own finances in the same way perhaps that the individual Makedonian *poleis* did. That being said, we are not aware of any designated officials or body in charge of their administration, other than the king, whose self-ascribed role as the keeper of Makedonian wealth is expounded in the Opis Speech.[1006]

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[999] Hammond (1988), p. 386.
[1000] *CID* 2.100, ll. 10-11. This inscription adds support to Hammond's (1993b) argument that following Philippos II's intervention to end the Sacred War of 356-346 BCE, the Makedones, as opposed to Philippos II and his descendants alone (Diod. 16.59.4-60.1), were admitted to membership in the Delphic Amphiktyony, (Dem. 19.327, Paus. 10.3.3, 10.8.2). For contrasting arguments and the relevant source analysis, see the discussion in Hammond (1993b).
[1001] *CID* 2.100, ll. 8-9, 12-13.
[1002] *CID* 2.100, ll. 2-3: "παρ' Ἀλεξάν]*δρο*[υ Ἀρχεπόλιος, Ἀγίππου·]"
[1003] The second highest amount, given by an unidentified group, was actually five times lower (2.100 <?> staters), *CID* 2.100, ll. 21-22.
[1004] Hatzopoulos (1996), p. 432.
[1005] Liv. 44.46.6-8, "*gaza regia in eo loco erat*."
[1006] See the lists of theorodokoi for the late fourth century BCE that include Makedonian cities: *IG* IV.617, *SEG* 36:331. In her study of the institution of *theorodokia*, Perlman (2000) has made the

Whereas in Argead Makedonia the Makedones appear to function as a separate economic actor, their importance wanes in Ptolemaic Egypt. First and foremost, they cease to appear as a group alongside the king in official documents. The Ptolemaic king is styled, neither as the 'King of the Makedones,' nor as the half of the partnership that appears to be the Makedonian state in the standardised formula employed in Antigonid Makedonia: "*Βασιλεὺς δεῖνα καὶ Μακεδόνες*."[1007] Although these formulae provide little conclusive evidence regarding the constitutional status of the Makedones in the homeland, their frequent reference alongside the king plays upon the sense of their importance as a group, with the king perceived as acting alongside, as well as in their best interest. This 'partnership' quality, however idealised, disappeared in the Ptolemaic Kingdom, where the king was characteristically known simply by his first name and patronymic, following the designation '*Βασιλεὺς*.'[1008]

As a group the Makedones become increasingly scarcer in the sources. The scholarly consensus up until the last quarter of the twentieth century was that the Makedones enjoyed a special status in Egypt, superior even to the Alexandrian citizens.[1009] This view is based on a few passages by Josephus, who presents their elevated status as a wish of Alexandros that was merely respected by the Ptolemaioi.[1010] However, the evidence, as Fraser argues, points to the contrary. A list of the known people that were employed for political and diplomatic posts abroad demonstrates that the Ptolemaioi recruited according to merit and not according to ethnicity. Although neither the Alexandrians nor the Hellenes form the absolute majority, the Makedones are certainly a minority.[1011]

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intriguing observation that during the fourth century the king is replaced as the sole Makedonian *theorodokos* by an increasing number of individual Makedonian cities. For the internal organisation of Makedonian cities, see Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 127-165.

[1007] There are five extant inscriptions from the reign of Amyntas, son of Perdikkas III, down to Philippos V naming the King of the Makedones, e.g. *IG* VII 3055, Walbank (1984), p. 65. For the formula of King, Makedones and Allies, see *SVA* 501 [treaty between King Antigonos (III) and the Makedones and the city of Eleutherna], *SEG* 16.450 (this is in very fragmentary state but the Makedones in addition to someone else seem to be making an offering in their own name in the Sanctuary at Delos in 222 BCE) and *IG* XI.4.1097. Both these formulae are not available for either the Ptolemaic or the Seleukid kingdoms.

[1008] For their native subjects they employed other titles, see *OGIS* 90.

[1009] Tarn & Griffith (1952), pp. 217-218.

[1010] Fraser (1972), I, p. 52, Joseph. *FGrHist* 616 F 4, *BJ* 2.487-488, *AJ* 12.8.

[1011] For a list of Makedones and Alexandrians employed in overseas posts, see Fraser (1972), II, p. 149, n. 210. A notable Makedonas is Patroklos, son of Patron, the admiral of Philadelphos.

In Alexandria proper the most conspicuous presence of the Makedones is attested in the army, where an elite corps, whether ethnically Makedonian or not, continued to carry the name, as some form of honourific title, well into the first century BCE.[1012] They formed the so-called *therapeia*, the royal guard of the palace in Alexandria and the personal bodyguard of the king. They had undoubted military, as well as some political significance, but hardly any economic. It is only quite late in the Ptolemaic period that they appear to be making communal dedications in the form of statues to their fellow soldiers. This denotes, at the very least, the existence of a budget, but there is very little evidence for any other concerted activity by the Makedones in Ptolemaic Egypt.[1013]

There are a number of pragmatic considerations accounting for the waning importance of the Makedones as a group in Ptolemaic Egypt. First of all, their numbers became increasingly negligible. Recent studies have demonstrated amply that contrary to previous thought the term 'Makedonas' became a pseudo-ethnic already since the second century BCE.[1014] Secondly, the importance of Alexandria as the centre of the Ptolemaic Kingdom, subsumed in significance all other ethnics under its own demotic and civic appellations, i.e. it had become more important to be an Alexandrian in Ptolemaic Egypt than to be a Makedonas in the civilian sense, (it has already been noted above that in the military sphere the term Makedonas still carried symbolic capital).[1015] With the numbers of ethnic Makedones dwindling, the Ptolemaioi gradually created a new privileged group that appealed more to the cosmopolitanism of the age: the Alexandrians. Their privileged status was reflected in their preferential place, alongside other individuals classed as 'Hellenes,' within the Ptolemaic taxation system. In a manner reminiscent of the Argead kings who did not tax the Makedones at all, the Ptolemaioi sought to reinforce the loyalties of their indispensable Hellenic-speaking administrative class by granting them lower tax rates.[1016]

[1012] Marrinan (1998), pp. 545-546. The presence of genuine Makedones is well attested in the army of Seleukos, see Musti (1984), p. 189.

[1013] *SEG* 8.532 = *SB* 5.7787 = *Faiyum* 1.13 (42 BCE): "*τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι ἱππέων τῆς θεραπείας*..." Fischer-Bovet (2007) explores the contributions made by army officials for the building of temples in Upper Egypt. The evidence, however, consists of private, rather than group, donations. See also *SB* 1:1106.

[1014] Fischer-Bovet (2008). Cf. Launey (1949-1950).

[1015] Fraser (1972), p. 53.

[1016] See Clarysse and Thompson (2005), Manning (2003), p. 131.

TEMPLES & SANCTUARIES

What establishes temples, sanctuaries and their representatives (i.e. priests) as economic actors is their ability to attract, redistribute and, in the case of the latter, manage wealth. What reinforces their role as such is the fact that they are supported by a constant supply of large numbers of people eager to transform their religious sentiment into material offerings, as well as the fact that any business is more or less guaranteed to be transacted under conditions of peace.

Historically, Hellenic sanctuaries acted as nodes of cultural and political interaction, drawing together various political units from across the Mediterranean wishing to participate in common ritual activities.[1017] Competition, which ordinarily existed between rivalling states, was channelled into athletic and artistic contests, whose unobstructed conduct was ensured by the imposition of a sacred truce (*ἐκεχειρία*).[1018] Even though transgressions against the inviolability of pilgrims and the *asylia* of sacred sites did occur, the political authorities were ready to make the necessary compensations.[1019] Sources confirm that the Kingdom of Makedonia firmly abided by this tradition. When Phrynon of Rhamnous was attacked and imprisoned by Makedonian bandits during the Olympic truce of 348 BCE, Philippos II apparently returned the ransom exacted for his release, because at the time of his capture the individual in question was on his way to visit Olympia.[1020] The cessation of hostilities for the duration of pan-Hellenic festivals (at least in and around the sanctuaries and the patron city-state) created a privileged, safe setting for inter-state gatherings. The sanctuary was thus gradually transformed into the focal point for the cultivation of formal inter-state relations.

The evidence for the existence and organisation of temple estates and the economic role of priests in Argead Makedonia is restricted. A number of royal *diagrammata* record the ruler's attempts to resolve among other things disputes over the appropriate handling of grants of land to temples, the correct dispensation of temple monies and the regulation of temple dedications, but they date from the Antigonid

[1017] See most recently Marinatos & Hägg (1993), Miller (2006), Pedley (2005).
[1018] Paus. 5.4.5-6, 5.20.1. The quoit (*δίσκος*) of King Iphitos upon which the text of the Olympian truce was inscribed was still on display during Pausanias' time. For the Isthmian truce, see Paus. 5.2.1.
[1019] Wars were never effectively stopped during Pan-Hellenic Festivals. However, it was very rare that the sacred site itself, with its *polis* and surrounding territory should it be in or near an urban area, was embroiled in hostilities. Travellers on pilgrimage were generally granted safe passage to and from the festival. See Dillon (1997), esp. ch. 2. For the evolution of *asylia* from a practical necessity to a religious honour in the Hellenistic period, see Rigsby (1996).
[1020] Aisch. 2.12-13, Dillon (1995).

period.[1021] Although these might provide some indication of the economic activities of temples that could be traced back to the Argead period, the only solid evidence we possess comes from the literary sources, where it appears that the king was the head of cult. As such, one of his main responsibilities was to perform the necessary sacrifices to the gods on a regular basis. The instances where the Makedonian king is recorded to be performing his religious duties abound.[1022] Apart from extraordinary circumstances such as celebrating victories and invoking the benevolence of the gods prior to battle there were customary sacrifices that needed to be performed.[1023] The role of the king in their performance can be inferred from the fact that they were not overlooked even at a time when Alexandros' health was seriously failing.[1024] Equally, when the king was absent from home, he would appoint others to conduct the daily sacrifices in his stead.[1025] This was a position of honour and was given to members of the inner circle of the king. Philippos entrusted them to Alexandros when he was away and, accordingly, Alexandros granted the privilege to his mother Olympias and Krateros.[1026] The performance of the sacrifices, which took place in plain view of a large crowd each time, strengthened the ideological power of the ruler.

Although the king acted as the high priest, other priests did exist in almost every Makedonian city.[1027] However, as eponymous priests their role appears to have been primarily civic, rather than religious. The majority of them were priests of Asklepios, while a few others officiated in honour of the founder of a Makedonian city. Recent archaeological evidence suggests, though far from concludes, that Philippos II was involved in a cult in his honour in the city of Philippoi.[1028] The economic role of the priests, however, in the religious life of the cities and the sanctuaries they were in charge of is quite obscure.

The most renowned Makedonian sanctuary and the centre of Makedonian religious activity was Dion.[1029] Since the times of Archelaos it was the home of the only Makedonian Games and festivals were frequently organised on important

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[1021] For Briant (1973), the Antigonid kings were "Priest-Kings," p. 326, n. 2.
[1022] For a list of Alexandros' III sacrifices, see Samuel (1983), p. 77, n. 36. See also Bell (2006), p. 66, n. 70.
[1023] Diod. 15.86.6.
[1024] Arr. *Anab*. 7.24.4, 7.25.6.
[1025] Plout. *Alex*. 23.3.
[1026] Plout. *Alex*. 9, Hammond (1985), pp. 156-160.
[1027] See Hatzopoulos (1996), pp. 153-155.
[1028] See Hatzopoulos (1996), Epig. App. 83, mentioning Philippos and his *temene* amongst other divinities.
[1029] Just. 24.3.2, Liv. 44.5.

occasions (such as the nine-day festival held by Alexandros before his departure on the Persian campaign).[1030] However, we know little of its organisation, assets and their administration.[1031] Unfortunately, there are no extant publicized inventories of the temple treasures in the manner of the Athenians.[1032] Most of our knowledge comes in connection to a mid-fourth century fragmentary civic law decree from the Agora of Dion.[1033] From this it appears that the city of Dion was responsible for the organisation of the festivals and games in honour of the gods worshipped in the sanctuary, which was undertaken by a committee of elected men. Although treasurers are mentioned we are not informed further of the assets they disposed of. As the sanctuary was under the supervision of the city of Dion it would be permissible to draw some insights from the manner in which city-state sanctuaries were organised.

Hellenic sanctuaries were financially independent and new research has demonstrated that the temple economy in the world of the polis was buoyant.[1034] However, sanctuaries were generally not big landowners in ancient Hellas. Their wealth consisted of movable goods and buildings rather than land.[1035] The philosophical explanation for this can be found in the assertion that the Olympians had not created the earth and hence did not hold exclusive rights to it. Egyptian cosmology, however, dictated otherwise; land was considered the divine property of the gods, and by extent of the king.

In Ptolemaic Egypt, the priests (i.e. the Egyptian élite) held significant parcels of land in the name of the gods (sacred land), as well as land leased out to private individuals in exchange for rent (private land). According to the Edfu Donation Text, which records sacred land holdings in Upper Egypt, 18% of the land within the Edfu nome was owned by the temples.[1036] In the village of Kerkeosiris, temple land amounted to 16% of the total.[1037] Apart from rents, some temples were also the recipients of the so-called *apomoira*, which amounted to one sixth of the tax from the produce on fruit and wine from all the land, excluding sacred land.[1038] The Ptolemaic state recognised and enforced the property rights of priests or priestly corporations in

[1030] Diod. 17.16.3-4.
[1031] Diod. 17.16.3-4.
[1032] E.g. *IG* II^2 1388.
[1033] Hatzopoulos (1996), *Epig. App.* 56.
[1034] Dignas (2002).
[1035] Toutain (1968), p. 110.
[1036] Manning (2003), pp. 74-79.
[1037] Verhoogt (1998).
[1038] Préaux (1979), pp. 171-186. This practice was carried on from the Pharaonic period, von Reden (2006), p. 169.

Egypt, and the ancient property rights structure of the temples, especially in the Thebaid, remained more or less intact.[1039] The temples were allowed to continue to manage their endowments and receive their income.

At the same time, the early Ptolemaic rulers, recognising the influential role of the priests within the Egyptian society, proved very keen to uphold the necessary niceties expected on behalf of a new dynasty. Thus, the traditional act of donation, a royal ritual performed at the beginning of each reign, which is commemorated in the Satrap Stele, presents Ptolemaios I 'repeating' the donation of his predecessor to the temple.[1040] This was not a fortuitous act. Royal donations and temple-building, as well as any other concession that the Ptolemaioi were prepared to and did grant to the powerful Egyptian clergy, were not gestures of largesse per se, but rather necessary trade-offs in order to maintain and minimise the costs of compliance in Upper Egypt.[1041] Certainly, the maintenance of the old property rights structure and land tenure regime had a constraining impact on the extent of the economic power of the Ptolemaic ruler in the area. However, the political implications were by far more important.

Having said that, the Ptolemaioi did transfer considerable aspects of the traditional economic organisation of the temples to the monarchy. These new measures related mostly to revenues from taxation, which were diverted from the temple coffers to the royal. Money taxes would be collected in the royal banking system and taxes in kind would be sent to the royal granaries.[1042] In addition, with the economic administration of the dynastic cult in the hands of the King a large degree of the economic power directly related to the traditional cultic activity of the temples was reduced.[1043] This was especially the case in Lower Egypt. Another change which ascertained the supremacy of the economic role of the state vis-à-vis the temples was the fact that the silver standard was no longer guaranteed by the treasury of Ptah in Memphis, as it was the case from the Pharaonic down to Persian times. The old Persian mint was transferred, quite fittingly, in the capital of the Ptolemaic dynasty in

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[1039] It is interesting to note that the only city built by the Ptolemaioi in the Thebaid, Ptolemais, was significantly far away from the spheres of influence of the traditional religious centres of Pharaonic Egypt: Memphis and Thebes.
[1040] *CGC* 22182.
[1041] See the table of Ptolemaic temple-building activity in Huss (1994), pp. 26-39. See also Meeks IN Manning (2003), p. 76.
[1042] Manning (2003), p. 57.
[1043] Préaux (1979), p. 180. For the dynastic cults, see also Koenen (1993).

Alexandria, and the royal mint there assumed the role of the chief guarantor of the silver standard.[1044]

CONCLUSION

Running contrary to the limited attention received in the secondary literature it has been shown that the Argead economy was in fact much more sophisticated than hitherto recognised. Based on the new epigraphic material that has surfaced in the last thirty years, there is now a case to be made for the continuity of Argead templates of economic organisation into early Ptolemaic Egypt.

This chapter has studied the structure of property rights in both kingdoms. From the discussion it has emerged that although several organisational aspects of the Ptolemaic economy had their roots in the Pharaonic and Persian fiscal organisation, especially as one moved farther away from the centre of Ptolemaic authority in Lower Egypt, the accommodating attitude of the early Ptolemaic dynasty to pre-existing property rights structures derived from a pragmatic need to exchange privileges for compliance. Most importantly, for the purposes of this thesis, this was done in accordance to the template set by the Argead dynasty when it came to the organisation of their newly acquired lands. Early Ptolemaic Egypt was governed as the spear-won territory that it originally was.

[1044] Manning (2003), p. 176. For the date of the transfer of the mint from Memphis to Alexandria, see Stewart (1993), p. 239, von Reden (2007), p. 33. In favour of the mint being established in Alexandria in 326 BCE, see Newell (1923), p. 64, Mørkholm (1991), p. 52. For a slightly later date, see le Rider (1997), p. 91.

CONCLUSION

In a little-discussed enkomion by the lyric poet Bakchylides, a vision of ships carrying grain and vast riches from Egypt was incorporated in the drunken musings of a young prince early in the fifth century BCE.

B' ...
εὖτε νέων ἁ[παλὸν] ⌊γλυκεῖ' ἀ⌋νάγκα
σευομενᾶν κ⌊υλίκων θάλπη⌋σι θυμ⌊όν,⌋
Κύπριδός τ' ἐλπ⌊ὶς δ<ι>αιθύσσῃ φρέ⌋νας,
Γ' ἀμμειγνυμέν⌊α Διονυσίοισι⌋ δώροις·
ἀνδράσι δ' ὑψο⌊τάτω πέμπει⌋ μερίμν⌊ας·⌋
αὐτίκ⌊α⌋ μὲν π⌊ολίων κράδ⌋εμνα ⌊λύει,⌋
πᾶσ⌊ι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρ⌋χήσ⌊ειν δοκεῖ·⌋
Δ' χρυ⌊σ⌋ῷ ⌊δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμ⌋αίρ⌊ουσιν οἶκοι,⌋
πυροφ⌊όροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντ⌋α πό[ντον]
νᾶες ἄγο⌊υσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον⌋
πλοῦτον· ὡς ⌊πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ.⌋
…

"…when the sweet compulsion as the cups race round warms the hearts of youths to tenderness, and expectations of Kypris rushes through the mind, mixed with the gifts of Dionysos. They send men's thoughts to soar sky-high: for instance, a man is undoing the veils of cities, and fancies he will be monarch over all men. Halls gleam with gold and ivory, and, bearing their wheat over a glittering sea, ships carry from Egypt vast wealth. So the heart of the drinking man is stirred." [1045]

The prince was Alexandros I and the poem was probably commissioned by his father Amyntas, king of the Makedones, in anticipation of his son's succession.[1046] The setting for Bakchylides' enkomiastic poem could be placed at the late stages of any given symposion held in the Makedonian royal court. The association between the consumption of wine and the unleashing of one's imagination towards the attainment of nobler and higher goals is a *topos* in sympotic literature.[1047] Against this background,

[1045] Bakchyl. F 20B.6-16. Translation by Fearn (2007), pp. 35-36.
[1046] Fearn (2007), pp. 55-56.
[1047] Cf. Aristoph. *Knights* 92-92: "*You see? Whenever men drink, then they are rich, they are successful, they win their cases*…," Plout. *Quaest. Conv*. 7.715a: "…*wine has many voices, filling everyone with pointless chatter and aspirations of leadership*," Pl. *Laws*. 2.671a-b: "*Such a gathering inevitably tends, as the drinking proceeds, always to grow more and more uproarious*; […] *Everyone is lifted above their normal self*: […] *regarding himself as competent to be ruler over both himself and everyone else*." See also Fearn (2007), pp. 37-38, 53, 57.

Bakchylides' poem presents the innermost desires of a future king: military prowess, strong monarchic rule and economic power.

E' …
…
τί γὰρ ἀνθρώ[ποισι μεῖζον]
[κέρδο]ς ἢ θυμῷ χαρίζε[σθα]ι κ[αλὰ;] *20*

For what (greater profit) for men is there than indulgence of one's own heart with respect to fine deeds?[1048]

Aside from the fascination that Egypt's wealth commanded over the Makedones at this early stage in their history (and this is indeed the earliest reference to Egypt in a Makedonian context), this poem holds a historical significance that goes beyond the literary portrayal of a prince's drunken illusions of grandeur.[1049] As a royal commission, it reflects the earliest ingredients of a developing Makedonian royal ideology of power.[1050] Based on military preponderance, the power of the state can be extended indefinitely. Alongside wealth, these were goals worthy of a king's pursuit. These were the sources of his power.

ὡς ⊥πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ.⊥

[And] .. So the heart of the drinking man is stirred.[1051]

The aim of this thesis has been twofold. On the one hand, it involved going beyond what kings and generals of the ancient world empirically understood as the sources of their power: soldiers and money. Utilising concepts and models from social and economic theory this thesis has identified four sources of royal power: dynastic,

[1048] Bakchyl. F 20B.19-20. Translation by Fearn (2007), p. 36. For a similar motif see the only other extant enkomion of Alexandros, son of Amyntas, by Pindaros F 120-121.3-6: | *…πρέπει δ' ἐσλοῖσιν ὑμνεῖσθαι…* | *…καλλίσταις ἀοιδαῖς.* | *τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθανάτοις τιμαῖς ποτιψαύει μόνον* {ῥηθέν}, | *θνάσκει δὲ σιγαθὲν καλὸν ἔργον*, "…it is fitting for the good to be praised… …with the fairest songs. For (it is said) that this is the only tribute that touches upon the honours due to the immortals; as, once silenced every good deed will perish." Pindaros' enkomion is probably roughly contemporary to Bakchylides' praise to Alexandros.

[1049] There is little doubt that, like Alexandros III, his Successors were aware of the immense economic advantages of controlling the most prolific grain-producing territory in the known world, Hölbl (2001), p. 9. Egypt was recognised as the best and richest of all the satrapies: "*σατραπεία πασῶν ἀρίστη καὶ προσόδους ἔχουσα μεγάλας Αἴγυπτος*," Diod. 18.6.3-4.

[1050] It is unfortunate that only two fragments of Pindaros' enkomion to Alexandros survive, none of them shedding any light to the nature of the 'good deeds' that Pindaros praises Alexandros for.

[1051] Bakchyl. F 20B.16. Translation by Fearn (2007), p. 36.

courtly, military and economic. Each of these was deconstructed in order to reveal the most important structures and networks that characterised their organisation and which contributed to the sustenance of the power of the ruler. The second aim of this thesis was to examine the migration of those structures and networks from Argead Makedonia to the organisation of early Ptolemaic Egypt.

The contribution of Argead Makedonian organisational templates in the structuring of the Ptolemaic monarchy has long escaped analytical consideration, partly due to the state of the evidence on the Makedonian side, but primarily because of the persistence of scholarship to conceive of the Hellenistic world as a separate entity, radically different from the city-state world that preceded it, heavily influenced by Alexandros' orientalising experiment and much too decadent and enfeebled to compare with the Roman *Res Publica* that dissolved it. This almost watertight fragmentation of time and space rendered the emphasis on change over continuity virtually inescapable.

This thesis is based on the premise that the above presents a distorted version of historical reality. Viewing structures as principles of organisation, which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space, and power as the outcome of the real and observable interrelations between networks of individuals and groups, this thesis has distanced itself from that segment of socio-historical tradition, which views human actors as the principal agents of change. Through the comparative analysis of the structures and networks that sustained royal power in both kingdoms, it has been argued that, in their majority, Argead structures were remembered and instantiated in the organisational practices of the early Ptolemaic rulers. Such a comparison has been sanctioned by the amount of Makedonian evidence that has accumulated in the last thirty years, which allows for a more balanced understanding of the workings of the Argead monarchy.

The underlying reason for the reproduction of Argead structures of government in early Ptolemaic Egypt was not the fact that they were highly conservative, resisting change even in the most volatile of circumstances. Rather, it was because the structures around which the monarchy was organised were formed in such a way that they could absorb the impact of imperial success in a manner that other political

formations could not. The all-inclusiveness of the citizen base of the Makedonian cities, as opposed to the racial exclusivity of the city-state, the differentiation between the management of national territory and territory won by the spear, all added to the creation of a template for colonial government that was tried and tested for generations before the Successors found themselves in charge of their satrapies. The concept of spear-won territory allowed the monarchy to disengage itself from the need to devise new methods to function within a foreign environment. Faced with a very mixed subject base Ptolemaios I knew that accommodation to local practices was key, precisely because he had experienced how new acquisitions under Philippos II were governed according to their ancestral customs. The king's rule merely added an extra layer of control over existing frameworks.

The equation of spear-won land with crown land, which in Makedonia was owned and managed by the king as his personal property, along with the waning numbers of the Makedonian population in Egypt contributed to the strengthening of the personal nature of Ptolemaic kingship. The fact that the Makedones as a nominal constitutive element of the state were dropped from the standard diplomatic formulae of Ptolemaic Egypt, however, cannot be taken to mean that the rule of the Ptolemaic king was unconstrained. Instead, this thesis has argued that the king's authority was bound to a variety of networks of individuals, which populated his household and his court and had to satisfy the expectations of at least three audiences (Makedonian, Hellenic and Egyptian) each of which anticipated the fulfilment of a different 'contract' in return for their compliance.[1052]

Added to the above, a contributing factor to the imperial success of both the Argead and Ptolemaic states was the overwhelming adherence to a monarchic ideology, which established the 'dynasty' as the preponderant ideological umbrella under which élite and populace alike united. The conscious manipulation of Argead dynastic frames of reference in the Ptolemaic Kingdom points towards an understanding among decision-makers that the preservation of the traditional political status quo was advantageous. Despite the volatility of a hereditary dynastic monarchy the régime was maintained and strengthened by stricter succession rules, in an (in hindsight unsuccessful) effort to eradicate dynastic instability.

[1052] According to the neo-classical model of the state.

The list of structures and networks that sustained royal power treated in this thesis does not claim to be exhaustive, neither in its content nor in the level of analysis. If one had the luxury of time and a generous word limit most could be further elaborated in article-length studies. In addition, there are still areas where comparison between the organisation of the two kingdoms would yield very interesting results, such as the monopoly of physical force exercised in a domestic context or the frameworks of economic exchange and the uses of monetisation.[1053] Both would benefit from the newest epigraphic and numismatic material whose discovery and study is steadily increasing our knowledge of that northern kingdom, so frequently condemned as the backwater of Hellas. This thesis hopes to have provided a stepping-stone towards the instatement of Argead Makedonia as an added frame of reference for the more balanced understanding of the workings of the Successor Kingdoms.

In all, referring back to von Martin's question quoted at the opening of the introduction, this thesis has shown that in the case of the migration of Argead structures of royal power into early Ptolemaic Egypt, inertia predominates.

[1053] Especially since so much work has been done lately on the Ptolemaic police, see Bauschatz (2005), (2007), (2007b).

GLOSSARY OF SOCIOLOGICAL TERMS

Figuration

A network of social relations or 'interdependencies' formed by individual actors. Undermining the autonomy of the agent emphasised by much of Western philosophy and political theory, Elias (2000) argued that individual actors can only be understood through their interdependencies with each other. As such, historical change was still activated solely by the actions of individuals (as opposed to an externally structured system) but only as these were formed within their 'figurations.' Intentional independent agency is constraint by the constant interweaving of the countless actions of agents within the figuration, the outcome of which is unintentional and unplanned. Simply put, individuals can make decisions, but these are never personal either in their content or their consequences. Elias' figurational sociology was an attempt to bridge the agency-structure or individual-society gap.

New Economic Sociology (NES)

Replaced the so-called Old Economic Sociology in the 1980s, which was still respectful of mainstream neo-classical economics. It introduced social structure as a determinant of economic action.
It functions on three basic assumptions:

a. all economic action is a category of social action
b. social action is embedded in ongoing inter-personal networks of relationships, and cannot be explained in reference to the actions of individually motivated actors
c. economic institutions are socially constructed.[1]

New Institutional Economics (NIE)

Theoretical framework consisting of a set of analytical inter-disciplinary concepts, such as property rights, transaction costs, credible commitment, agenda control. The main concern of NIE is the reciprocal impact of institutions on economic performance.

Power

The ability to pursue and attain goals through mastery of one's environment (Mann, 1986). It has to be noted that power is a dispositional concept: it refers to the possibility of an action occurring, rather than its actual occurrence. One does not necessarily have to own power resources, but only to control them.

Structuration Theory

Proposed by Giddens (1984) this is a theory, which like Elias' figuration theory, attempts to transcend the action/structure, individual/society dichotomy. Instead,

[1] Swedberg & Granovetter (1992). Founding article Granovetter (1985).

Giddens focuses on how "*social practices* [are] *ordered across time and space*," p. 2. According to the theory, social structures are produced and reproduced by the actions of the individuals. Put simply, social structure is both the medium and the outcome of social action. This is what Giddens calls the "duality of structure," and places it in direct opposition to the dualism of structure and agency.

Structure

Any recurring pattern of social behaviour. It refers to the binding properties (rules and resources) which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend them systemic form (Giddens, 1984). In this process, structures are only existent when remembered and/or instantiated through action by individuals across generations.

Time-space distanciation

Term introduced by Giddens (1981, 1984) to describe the 'stretching' of social relations, systems and practices across time and space. He distinguished between low and high levels of time-space distanciation. Time-space distanciation is accentuated (exhibiting a wider spatial and temporal reach) in a state environment, whereby the limits of personal (one-on-one) interaction or what Giddens calls social integration, can be transcended, resulting in what he calls system integration. This implies that integration can take place even when actors are physically absent, i.e. across historical time and geographical space. Low-level time-space distanciation is characteristic of tribal societies, where all social interaction between actors takes place on a personal level.

Appendix A

IDENTIFYING THE DEBATES IN ANCIENT ECONOMIC HISTORY

THE PRIMITIVIST-MODERNIST AND SUBSTANTIVIST-FORMALIST DEBATES

The study of ancient economic history is rife with dichotomies. It has been called the "*academic Hundred Years' War*" and not without good reason.[2] Valuable in its depiction of two extreme positions, the Bücher-Meyer controversy of the 1890s exposed the precarious equilibrium between history and economics.[3] The ancient historian (Meyer) vehemently denied the identification of ancient economies with household economies (*Oikenwirtschaft*) based on exchange rather than a market, as a primitivist oversimplification in the quest for a linear evolution of society and economy from primitive to modern capitalist. The economist (Bücher), on the other hand, dismissed the application of modern capitalist structures to the study of the ancient economy as a modernist, anachronistic caricature. Although significantly toned down, the primitivist-modernist debate that dominated the first half of the twentieth century has formed the undercurrent of other prevalent dichotomies in the field such as the substantivist (Polanyi) versus the formalist (e.g. Firth).[4] Like the primitivists but with an added socio-political dimension, the substantive approach negates the existence of modern economic structures in what they perceive is an ancient economy fundamentally embedded in the social structures of the society in question and determined by political developments and the preservation of the status-quo. Conversely, the formalists argue that the economic sphere of activity in ancient societies is *ipso facto* separate from the social and has its own logic dominated by profit- and pleasure- maximising rationality. Much like the modernists, the formalists argue that, although not of the same sophistication, the ancient economy is constituted by elements readily recognisable in modern economies.[5]

However, as categories of thought these approaches are not particularly useful in describing social reality for a number of reasons. Fist of all, they appear to be static, while quite clearly the divide between them is not impermeable. As Cartledge has noted, even the most ardent primitivist would not ignore the fact that economic activities extended to some degree beyond the household, nor the most passionate modernizer would deny that some of the economic structures s/he recognised as modern were really rather primitive or dependent on social conditions.[6] A similar permeability applies to the substantivist and formalist approaches. Polanyi never precluded the existence of profit-driven economic

[2] Rathbone (2002), p. 156.
[3] For an anthology of the original texts, see Finley (1979).
[4] This dichotomy originated in the field of anthropology. Polanyi's substantivism was articulated in *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (1944). Conversely, Raymond Firth was the first anthropologist to take up Lionel Robbins' classic definition of economics as the study of choices made under conditions of scarcity and apply it to his study of the economic life of a group of islanders in Polynesia (1939). He firmly believed that formal concepts and tools of neo-classical economics had a universal validity based on human rationality.
[5] On the substantive and formal meaning of the economy, see Polanyi (1992).
[6] Cartledge (2002), p. 15.

activities in pre-capitalist societies, while Sahlins' structural substantivist endeavour in his *Stone Age Economics* was, in spite of his best efforts, dotted by a formalist concern for the individual and the satisfaction of their needs.[7] It may be that Sahlins' work had inadvertently pointed to the possibility of a third way (i.e. the marriage of elements from both action-driven, utilitarian neoclassical micro-economics and structure-based cultural explanations).

Secondly, it follows that adherence to one or the other imposes limitations on our understanding of the nature and workings of ancient economies. These limitations hinge upon the assumptions that each approach employs to base their analysis, which can result in a partial selection and/or appreciation of the evidence. A potent example of the inadequacies of such closed views is the rise and fall of the so-called 'Finley's model'. Heavily influenced by Max Weber's historical sociology, which associated pre-industrial economic activity with the preservation of status, and building on Polanyi's tripartite evolutionary typology of reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange, Finley produced an influential model of a single ancient Mediterranean economy, which included ancient Greece and Rome from 1000 BCE to 500 CE, but excluded the Hellenistic period and the Near East.[8] The status-based structures of this single economy were fundamentally embedded in social practice.[9] Finley denied the rationality of individuals as economic agents in ancient societies and framed economic activity within the confines of 'subsistence' and the pursuit of cellular self-sufficiency and status.[10] Finley's main observations on the ancient economy have withstood academic scrutiny, and for a long while substantivism appeared to have won the battle against modernism and formalism. Hardly anyone today would argue against the importance of social status as an incentive in transactions, the close link between economic activity and political power, the limitations of economic organisation in ancient political units, or the predominance of agriculture as a source of capital in pre-industrial societies. What had been hailed as the 'new orthodoxy' with Finley and his disciples though has undergone a serious shift in emphasis.[11] Finley's model is no longer thought to provide a sufficient framework by which to contextualize the new types of evidence that are considered relevant for the study of ancient economies. Of these new types of evidence, the most

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[7] Polanyi (1944, pp. 41-50) viewed profit as a means to an end and not as the end in itself. As Cook (1974, pp. 356-357) has observed, Sahlins (1972) is a rigorous substantivist in ideological terms only. When it comes to methods he does not provide an explanation of the failings of formalist methodology, while at the same time he is caught striving to explain economic structure on the basis of the satisfaction of individual needs, examples in O'Laughlin (1974), p. 1362.

[8] Finley (1999), pp. 27-29. See also the very good introduction to Finley's work by Morris, in *ibid.*

[9] See in particular Finley (1999), ch. 2. For Weber's views on the role of status and its effect on the non-creation of markets and the restriction of effective property rights in the ancient economy see *Economy and Society* (1968), esp. ch. 9 on Political Communities. According to Weber, a free and competitive market will only come into existence when societies are stratified according to classes, which are created by economic interest. Finley collaborated with Polanyi and A.H.M. Jones. His views were broadcasted in a series of lectures delivered as the Sather Classical Lectures at Berkeley and later published as *The Ancient Economy* (orig. pub.1973).

[10] See Finley (1999), pp. 117-118.

[11] Hopkins (1983), pp. xi-xiii. The previous 'orthodoxy' he was referring to was Weber's seven-tiered evolutionary typology of ancient political units. For a summary of the critiques of the substantivist model see Morris & Manning (2005), pp. 144-148.

important is material culture, which Finley considered untrustworthy and misleading.[12] What is more, in Finley's model the aforementioned assumptions shape *a fortiori* the interpretation of the evidence for the sake of the creation of a general model. Hence, for instance the differences between the Spartan and Athenian economic systems are muted. Economists and historians alike are increasingly less convinced by the usefulness of such total views and direct attention towards the regionalism and isolation of certain ancient economies.[13] In spite of the perceived clarity and practical appeal of a general model to explain economic organisation in the longue-durée, it is far more likely for it to generate bias that would sacrifice accuracy and detail of evidence for the overarching thesis.[14]

The most important shift in the Finleyan thesis is the re-introduction in the debate of the market principle, the role of the individual as a rational economic agent and the element of growth (as opposed to economic and technological stagnation) long advocated by modernists, like Rostovtzeff.[15] Finley's modernist refutation was grounded on a much closed definition of the purpose of economics (namely Erich Roll's description of "*the economic system as an enormous conglomeration of independent markets*, [where] *the central problem of economic enquiry* [was] *the explanation* […] *of the formation of price*).[16] Unable to distinguish networks of independent markets in the ancient Mediterranean he decided on the insignificant existence of markets at the expense of reciprocal relations between status groups.[17] From an economist's perspective Finley's premise was inconsistent not only with Roll's own work, but with the wider advancements in economics at the time.[18] By extent, he had precariously denied in ancient societies the development of those particular mechanisms that enabled the pursuit of profit and economic growth for their own sake, such as interest rates, investment, competition and impersonal markets where consumers/buyers want to maximize utility and producers/sellers profit. According to Finley, this was due not to any intellectual failing but to institutionally-bound economic behaviour, which placed such activities at the margins of economic life.[19] As a result, Finley's 'new orthodoxy' severely underestimated the innate drive of human beings towards the satisfaction of their self-interest and the making of profit, occasionally even at the expense of status incentives.[20] Added to the restrictions placed by a narrowed appreciation of the economic theory Finley was trying to refute, such an approach was not substantiated by the sources of the period. Research has shown that, contrary to

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[12] He believed that "…*archaeology cannot show, of course,* […] *the legal and economic relationship between landowners and the manufacturers of pottery, tiles and bricks*," (1999), p. 190.

[13] Cartledge (2002), pp. 12-14, Witcher (1985). See also Reger (1994) and Woolf (1992).

[14] For the practical value of accepting a model of a single ancient economy, see von Reden (2006).

[15] Contrary to Finley's view on economic stagnation, see Hopkins (1980, 1983, 1983b). Hopkins, a follower of Finley, revised the latter's model of a single ancient economy to accommodate the potential for significant economic growth and trade. For the existence of technological progress and innovation in the ancient world, see Greene (2000).

[16] Roll (1945), p. 373, cited in Finley (1999), p. 22.

[17] Finley (1999), p. 60.

[18] See the critique of Gunther (1974), where he cites Lancaster's 'demand theory' as more pertinent to the ancient world. Lancaster argued that different economic activities yield different kinds and levels of reward. Status and wages, according to the demand theory are just different kinds of rewards in an economic system. Thus, unlike Finley's postulations, constant wage rates do not denote lack of a labour force in the ancient world.

[19] Finley (1999), pp. 22-23.

[20] It was the same mistake that cultural relativism committed when it disregarded the constancy of human nature through time. See the work of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead.

Finley's model, production of certain goods exceeded by far local needs and was intended specifically for export to foreign markets. This was the case, to name but a couple of Hellenistic examples, with part of the total production of wheat in Ptolemaic Egypt and wine from the Hellenic colony of Chersonesos in Krimaia.[21] Gradually, the disproportionate growth of a handful of cities, certainly by the time of the preponderance of Rome, intensified the cultivation of cash-crops, which generally included the trio of staple foods; grain, olive oil and wine. Survey and marine archaeology have been instrumental in demonstrating how rural areas became increasingly devoted to monoculture.[22] Stamped amphora handles recovered from wrecks and ancient refuse dumps combined with material remains of olive and wine presses in rural landscapes have proven much more valuable than Finley would ever allow, considering his vocal disdain of archaeology: "[we] *are often victims of that great curse of archaeology, the indestructibility of pots*."[23]

The War on Method

The above discussion brings to the foreground, arguably, the most important consequence of the ongoing debates on ancient economic history: the problem of method, or the 'war on method' (*Methodenstreit*) as the disagreeing German and Austrian economic historians called it at the turn of the nineteenth century.[24] Where does one look for evidence of economic activity? What is the best way to analyse it? And indeed, what can be classified as economic activity? These are all essential categories that need to be clarified if one wishes to examine further economic power and its use by decision-making authorities. Torn by the mutual suspicion of one discipline for the methods of the other, economists and historians with an interest in the ancient world have failed to establish a methodological framework by which to identify and describe, as well as explain and compare, the various economic systems of antiquity and the structures that constitute them. The bone of contention between primitivists and modernists, and formalists and substantivists alike lay in the angle from which they approached modern economic theory. Effectively, it was an argument over three things: the universal validity of economic categories versus cultural relativism, the supremacy of a priori theoretical models over empirical data or vice-versa, and finally, the perennial problem of the agency

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[21] Alexandria consistently sold her surplus of grain for profit abroad; see Préaux (1979), pp. 147-152, Casson (1954). According to Segré (1934, p. 281) on an average year that quantity amounted to around 10.000.000 artabas (= *c.* 400.000 tons of grain). The figure is accepted by Rostovtzeff (1941), p. 366, n. 162. Chersonesos is estimated to have produced around 20.000.000 litres of wine per annum for the Mediterranean market in the third century BCE (Randsborg, 1994, pp. 186-187).

[22] For wine stamped amphoreis recovered from various refuse heaps see Grace (1947), esp. pp. 449-451. More recently, Hopkins (1980, 1983b) has argued that inter-regional trade between countryside and towns in the Roman period has been on a far larger scale than previously thought. His research on amphorai handles from shipwrecks and on the cost of ships used in trade had shown that the latter was conducive to large-scale trading of staples. His conclusions overturn the view that small-scale trade of luxuries for the consumption of a wealthy minority was the norm in long distance trading. For further archaeological support on the frequency and scale of long-distance trade see the work of Mattingly (1995) on oil-presses in Roman North Afrika.

[23] Finley (1965), p. 41.

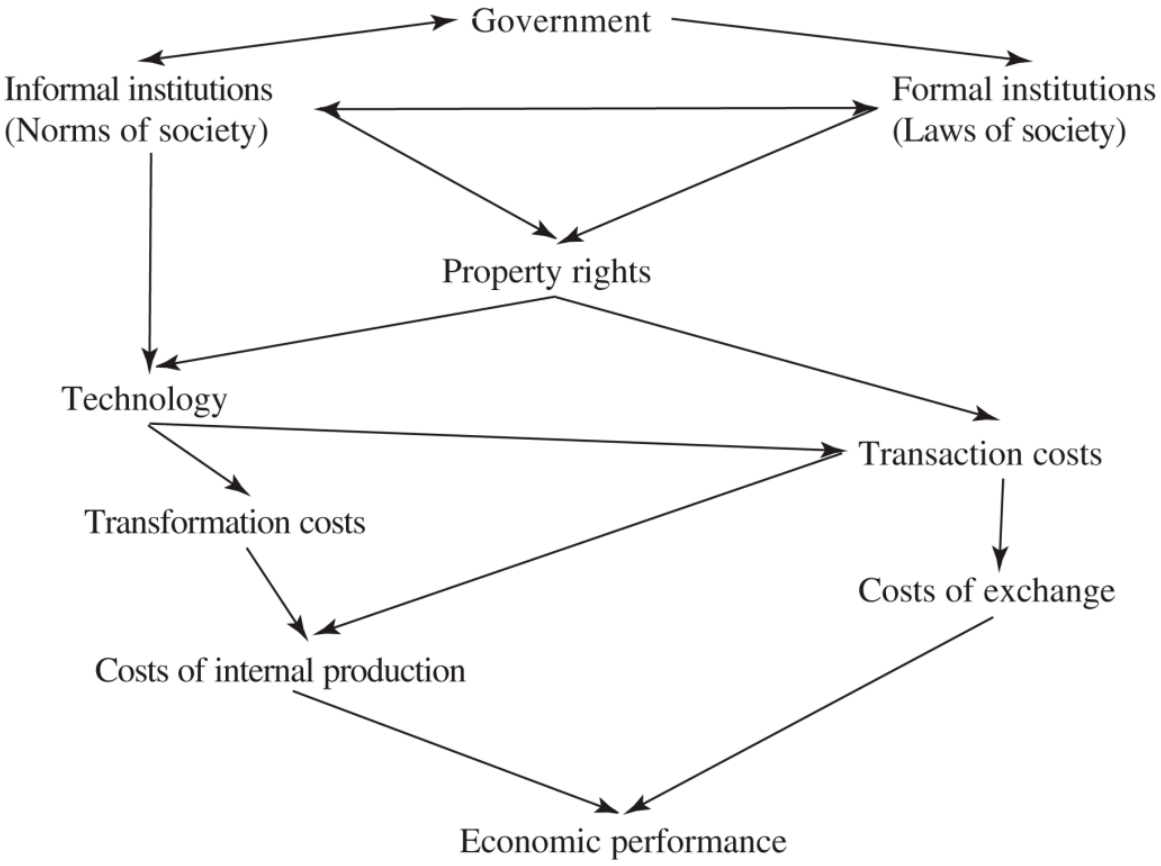
[24] For a concise overview of the *Methodenstreit*, see Fusfeld IN Durlauf & Blume (2008), s.v. *Methodenstreit*.

of the individual over its subordination to social structure. Never fully resolved, the debate on method in economic history broke afresh in the 1960s between the substantivists and the formalists. Like in the 1890s, it was often merciless: as the German empiricist Schmoller grudgingly refused to even read the Austrian purist Menger's arguments, so the substantivist economist Knight scolded the formalist economic anthropologist Linton for "*not knowing what he's talking about*".[25]

[25] For a collection of the documents on the 1880s *Methodenstreit* between Schmoller and Wenger, see Ritzel (1951). The following quote is graphic of Knight's defensiveness of economics against economic historians, which he considered as outsiders: "[When] Professor Linton says: "*…the economic problems of 'primitive' man are essentially the same as our own and many of them can be studied even better in 'primitive' societies, because they manifest themselves in simpler form*"*…he simply doesn't know what he is talking about*," Knight IN: Emmett (1999) p. 108.

Appendix B

INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE (NIE)*



* ALSTON, L.J. (2008). New Institutional Economics, The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics Online, DURLAUF, S.N. & BLUME, L.E. (Eds.) Palgrave Macmillan.
http://www.dictionaryofeconomics.com/article?id=pde2008_N000170 doi:10.1057/9780230226203.1183, last accessed 11 August 2009.

Appendix C

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN ARGEAD MAKEDONIA

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
1	Early Neolithic–Hellenistic period	Chang & Tourtellotte (1993), Wilkie (1993)	Grevena Archaeological Project, Southwest Makedonia: Interdisciplinary archaeological survey of the province of Grevena, which identified approximately 325 archaeological sites ranging from the Early Neolithic to the modern era. The aim of the project was to study modern pastoralist and agriculturalist communities in order to shed light on the archaeological remains of the area. The project highlights occupation patterns and provides evidence of economic activity in an area completely devoid of literary references. Early Neolithic sites are concentrated on low hills above major river valleys. Evidence for transhumant pastoralism appears on the archaeological record in the Late Bronze Age, with herders occupying both lowland and highland sites. Hellenistic sites are characterised by occupation on step-sided slopes that were often surrounded by fortification walls
2	Amyntas I (*c.* 505 BCE)	Hdt. 5.94.1	Amyntas I offered the district of Anthemous to Hippias, son of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos, who refused it. As he was probably not in possession of that territory, his offer could suggest a joint occupation
3	Alexandros I (second quarter of 5th c. BCE)	Hdt. 5.17.2	Alexandros was earning one silver talent per day from the mines at Mt Dysoron, north of Thessalonike
4	Perdikkas II (432 BCE)	Thouk. 1.58.2	Perdikkas induced the Chalkidians to abandon and demolish their towns on the seaboard, and settle inland at Olynthos. He rewarded those who abided by his will by giving them a part of his own land (*τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς*) in Mygdonia around lake Bolbe. They could reside there as long as the war against Athens lasted. The offer was accepted
5	Perdikkas II / Archelaos (425-410 BCE)	The Alonessos Shipwreck (Hatzidake 1996)	Hellenic trade vessel found underwater near the island Alonessos. It was carrying a cargo of *c.* 3000 amphorai of wine, most from the Makedonian town of Mende (at the time an independent city). Mendaian wine continued to be popular in the Hellenistic period (P. Cair. Zen. 59033, Ath. *Deipn.* IV.129d) and was exported in large quantities (Ath. *Deipn.* XI.784c)

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
6	Perdikkas II (424/423 BCE)	*IG* I^3 61	Economic blockade to Methone: Athenian decree asking for the permission of Perdikkas II to allow the Methonians to sail Makedonian waters and trade in Makedonian land without hindrance. This decree reveals how economic measures were taken in order to achieve political objectives (in this case the abandonment by Methone of its Athenian ties and its recognition of Makedonian suzerainty in the area, (for the dating of the decree see Mattingly 1961)
7	Perdikkas II (423-413 -?- BCE)	*IG* I^3 89 (*IG* I^2 71)	Treaty of Alliance between Athens and Perdikkas II, including a trade agreement that the Athenians alone were to receive oars from Makedonia. In turn the Athenians offer few concessions to the Makedones. Cf. Theoph. *HP* 5.1.7 explains how the lightness and durability of pine, fir and cedar wood rendered them useful in shipbuilding
8	Archelaos (413-399 BCE)	Thouk. 2.100.1-2	Archelaos revolutionised the infrastructure of the Kingdom by building straight roads, walled cities and strongholds
9	Archelaos (411 BCE)	Andok. *Περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καθόδου* 2.11	Archelaos granting special privileges to Andokides, by virtue of shared hereditary family connections, for the cutting and exporting of an unlimited number of oars. If Andokides charged the Athenians above cost, he could have obtained five drachmai per oar, which indicates how profitable the business of exporting refined wood was for the Makedonian Kingdom
10	Archelaos (410 BCE)	Diod. 13.49.1-2	Archelaos transferred the city of Pydna and its inhabitants twenty stadia away from the sea. The move came as a reaction to Pydna's secession from the Makedonian *arche* and followed Archelaos' successful siege of the city, whereby he gained rights of conquest Cf. For another example of the exercise of the royal prerogative of transplanting populations see Theagenes *BNJ* 774 F 3. An unknown king moved (*μεταγαγὼν*) the inhabitants of the city of Balla in Pieria to Pythion in Peraibia. Pythion was annexed into the Makedonian Kingdom during the reign of either Amyntas III or Philippos II
11	Archelaos (407/406 BCE)	*IG* I^3 117 (*IG* I^2 105)	Decree honouring Archelaos as *proxenos* and *euergetes* for providing timber and oars to Athenian shipwrights. It has been suggested that he had granted them permission to construct a fleet in situ in Makedonia in the shortest possible time (cf. Isaac 1986: 41, n. 210)
12	Archelaos/Amyntas III (first quarter of the	Hammond (1972-1988) II: 56,	The Makedonian capital was transferred from Aigai to Pella. This was accompanied by significant population migrations.

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
	fourth century BCE)	Hatzopoulos (1996) I: 171-173, Greenwalt (1999), Lilimpaki-Akamati *AEMTH* 2 (1988), Steph. Byz. s.v. *Pella*	Archaeological evidence suggests that orchards and vineyards were once cultivated in the vicinity of Pella. *Βούνομος* or *Βουνόμεια*, the original name of Pella suggests a connection with pasturage
13	Amyntas III (393 BCE)	Diod. 14.92.3, Diod. 15.19.2-3	Having been defeated by the Illyrians Amyntas III temporarily relinquished his political authority and with it he ceded large portions of the Makedonian-Chalkidian borderland to the Olynthians as a gift, "*τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν ἐδωρήσατο*.." The Olynthians enjoyed the revenues (*προσόδους*) from the land and because of these profits they refused to return the land to Amyntas when he was strong enough to reclaim it
14	Amyntas III (393/392 BCE)	*SIG*^{3} 135 (Hatz. *Epig. App.* 1)	Treaty of Alliance between Amyntas III and the Chalkidians, including specific instructions for the export of pitch, timber and other ship-building materials, as well as the payment of dues (*τέλεα*) to the Makedones for the *ἐξαγωγὴν δὲ εἶν καὶ διαγωγήν* of the aforementioned materials. Needing their support against the Illyrians, the treaty seems to favour the Chalkidians
15	Amyntas III (382 BCE)	Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.38	During the Spartan expedition against the Ckalkidian League, Amyntas III was urged by Teleutias, the Lakedaimonian commander, to contribute to the campaign by hiring mercenaries and enticing the –at the time- autonomous kings of Upper Makedonia into an alliance by bribing them (*χρήματα διδόναι, ὡς συμμάχους εἶναι*)
16	Amyntas III (375/374 BCE or 373/372 BCE)	*IG* II^{2} 102	Decree of alliance between Athens and Amyntas III. The oaths taken by both parties are not revealed, but the treaty has been interpreted as part of the rapprochement between the city of Athens and the Kingdom of Makedonia involving mutual financial and defensive benefits (Cargill 1981: 85-87, Borza 1992: 186-187) Cf. Xen. Hell. 6.1.11: Jason of Pherae stated *c.* 374 BCE that Macedonia was the source of Athenian timber: "*ἔχοντες μέν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα ἄγονται.*" The Kingdom was coveted by the Thessaloi for the same reason
17	Amyntas III (373/372 BCE)	Dem. *Πρὸς Τιμόθεον ὑπὲρ Χρέως* 49.26-30	Amyntas granted timber specifically to Timotheos, son of Konon, Athenian strategos. The consignment of timber incurred freight costs of 1750 drachmai, which (as it has been

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
			suggested by Meiggs 1982: 145) could have been enough to build ten triereis
18	Perdikkas III (365 BCE)	*SEG* 34:355 (1), Roesch (1984)	Decree of the Theban League honouring Athenaios, son of Demonikos, as *proxenos* and *euergetes*. Roesch has proposed that the Kingdom of Makedonia supplied the Thebans with timber to serve the naval program of Epameinondas. Athenaios must have been the Makedonian representative who facilitated this trade. For the relations between Makedonia and the Boiotian League, see Hatzopoulos 1985
19	Perdikkas III (361-360 BCE)	[Arist.] *Oikon.* 2.1350a	Kallistratos re-organised the finances of the King and raised the annual revenue from the harbour dues from twenty talanta to forty. Comparative evidence shows that even at double the value harbour dues in the Kingdom of Makedonia were still relatively a lower source of income than in other places (Rhodos: 166 talanta – Polyb. 30.31.12, Kersobleptes of Thrake: 200 talanta – Dem. 23.110). The method of collecting the harbour dues was based on tax-farming. Kallistratos improved the economic incentives for individual entrepreneurs (not just the wealthiest) to undertake the collection of taxes by lowering the sureties to one third per talanton, (as opposed to the previous arrangement of providing sureties for the whole amount of the twenty talanta) [Aristoteles] does not provide any information regarding the date of this reform. However, it is possible that it is the same Kallistratos as the Athenian orator self-exiled to Methone in 361 BCE (Lyk. *Κατὰ Λεωκράτους* 93) and the founder of the city of Daton close to the mines of Pangaion (ps.-Skylax 67). Daton has been associated with Krenides (later refounded as Philippoi by Philippos II) to which it constituted the harbour (App. *B. Civ.* 4.13.105, see also Hansen 2004: no 637). According to Strab. 7a.1.33, 7a.1.36 Daton had excellent agricultural land, dock-yards and goldmines
20	Philippos II (359 BCE)	Diod. 16.3.3-5	Bribery: Philippos II gained the loyalty of the army of the Makedones through gifts. Similarly, in his struggle against the pretender Argaios, he maintained peace with the Paionians by bribing them (*δωρεαῖς διαφθείρας*). In the same way he managed to divert the Thrakian support enjoyed by his other rival, Pausanias, (*δωρεαῖς πείσας*)
21	Philippos II (359-336 BCE)	Strab. 7.1.20	Pella contained the mint of Makedonia: "*τὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας χρηματιστήριον*"
22	Philippos II, Alexandros III and	*Syll.*[3] 332, Hatz.	Grant (*δωρεά*) of royal land and tax privileges to individuals (*hetairoi* or *philoi*) of the King: This

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
	Kassandros (?350s-297 BCE)	*Epig. App.* 20	inscription records the confirmation of an older grant of royal land by King Kassandros to Perdikkas, son of Koinos. The original grant was made by King Philippos II to Perdikkas' grandfather Polemokrates and involved the same lands in the region of Bottike (fields in the village of Sinos and the hill of Trapezous near Olynthos). The grant was hereditary (*ἐμ πατρικοῖς καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις*) and the lands could be freely alienated (*κυρίοις οὖσι κεκτῆσθαι καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀποδόσθαι*). As a matter of fact, Polemokrates had bought (*ἐν ἀργυρίωι*) land in nearby Spartolos from a Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios (probably a *hetairos* of the king), who had also received it as a grant from Alexandros III (*ἔδωκεν*). These lands were also exempt from taxes (*ἀτέλειαν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι τῶν ἐπὶ κτήσει*). *Χώρα βασιλικὴ* was *χώρα φορολογουμένη*, *φόρος* being the generic term in Makedonian usage for all revenues from the royal lands (Arr. *Anab*. 1.27.4: *φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὅσα ἔτη Μακεδόσι*, 3.17.5: *ὁ φόρος δὲ ὁ συνταχθεὶς*..) - Cf. the granting of hereditary tax-exemption (*ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν*) by Kassandros to Chairephanes on all goods that were imported, exported, sold and bought in his land, except those for trading purposes- *εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι καὶ πωλοῦντι καὶ ὠνουμένωι πλὴν ὅσα ἐπ' ἐμπορίαι* (306-298 BCE - *SEG* 47:940, Hatz. *Epig. App*. 21). His estates were attached administratively to the new city territory of Kassandreia, which at the time was independent of the Kingdom of Makedonia. However, according to Hatzopoulos this paradoxical tax-exemption can be explained by the fact that Kassandros wanted to maintain the tax privileges of local Makedones despite the foundation of a new city (Hatzopoulos, 1996: p. 440, n. 5). This is possibly the same Chairephanes that assumed the costs of draining work in Eretria in exchange for exploiting the reclaimed agricultural land for ten years and for the annual rate of three talanta (*IG* XII, 9.191) - Cf. the grant of royal land by Lysimachos to Limnaios, son of Harpalos (285/284 BCE, *SEG* 38:619, Hatz. *Epig. App.* 21). The land grant involves three separate areas that amount to 2.460 plethra of forested land and 20 plethra of vineyards. All could be freely alienated Cf. the fictional account in ps.-Aisch. *Epist.*

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
			12.7-8: [Aischines] wonders whether joining the court of Alexandros III was not the best thing to have done upon leaving for his exile, as he would receive from the king hefty compensation for his services. The author adds that he could not ignore that Demades possessed inns in Boiotia, cultivated fields of twenty plethra and that he dined in golden vessels. Equally, Hegemon and Kallimedon, one in Pella and the other in Beroia, had received gifts and were very well married indeed (all were Makedonian sympathisers, Dem. 18.285, Din. 1.94)
23	Philippos II (358 BCE)	Strab. 7.7.8, Diod. 16.4.3-7	Philippos II acquired the silver mines of Damastion, near Lake Ochrid, Illyria
24	Philippos II (*c.* 357/356 BCE)	Ps-Skymn. *Ad Nicomedem regem*, *Orbis Descriptio* 656-658	Following the conquest of Amphipolis, which contributed a great deal to the growth of Philippos' power as it was favourably situated towards Thrake and the neighbouring regions (Diod. 16.8.3), he conquered the former Thasian colony of Oisyme, which, thereafter, is recorded to have belonged to the Makedones
25	Philippos II (357-350 BCE)	*SEG* 40:542, Hatz. *Epig. App*. 4	Settlement of boundaries (*ὁροθεσία*) of the area of Mygdonia in the South-Eastern part of Chalkidike by Philippos II. The document is probably a royal *diagramma*. Cf. an *ὁροθεσία* of Amyntas, father of Philippos between Doliche and Elimeia and a further by Philippos the king for the Bragylioi, Tiberioi and Kossynioi (Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulos, *Morrylos* 58, n. 1, Wace & Thompson 1910/1911: 195)
26	Philippos II (356 BCE)	Diod. 16.8.5	Having conquered Potidaia, Philippos sold its inhabitants into slavery and handed over its territories to the Olynthians "*τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐξανδραποδισάμενος παρέδωκε τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις, δωρησάμενος ἅμα καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κτήσεις*"
27	Philippos II (356 BCE)	Diod. 16.8.6	Philippos enlarged the city of Krenides with a considerable number of new inhabitants and renamed it to Philippoi (Diod. 16.3.7). For the foundation of Poneroupolis (a city of villains and false witnesses settled with two thousand people by Philippos), see Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 110. Str. 7.6.2 identifies Poneroupolis with Kabyle, another of Philippos' settlements close to Byzantion. Plin. *NH* 4.41 identifies it with Philippoupolis (cf. Cl. Ptol. 3.11)
28	Philippos II (356 BCE)	Diod. 16.8.6-7, Strab. 7a.1.33-34	Philippos took over the gold mines in the Pangaion Mt near Philippoi (former Krenides) that were scarcely exploited at the time. He developed them to the point of yielding a revenue of more than one thousand talents a year (roughly triple the amount that Alexandros

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
			I collected a century earlier from the mines at Mt Dysoron). According to Diodoros, it was this money that helped Philippos II expand and strengthen the Makedonian state (cf. Diod. 11.70: Athens and Thasos had quarrelled over control of these mines over a century earlier - in 464 BCE) Cf. Strab. 7.7.4 for the economic importance of the territories between the Strymon and the Nestos rivers for the Makedonian Kingdom. Philippos appropriated them to himself because he could extract large revenues from the mines and the fertility of the land
29	Philippos II (356 BCE)	Theoph. *CP* 5.14.5-6	Philippos reclaimed (deforested and drained) the plain of Philippoi in order to open up the area for agriculture
30	Philippos II (354 BCE)	Diod. 16.34.5	Following the successful siege of Methone, Philippos razed the city and distributed its lands to the Makedones, (*τὴν δὲ χώραν διένειμε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν)*
31	Philippos II (352 BCE)	Dem. *Ὀλυνθιακὸς Α΄* 1.22	Following his victory at the Krokos Field against Onomarchos of Phokis, Philippos proceeded to secure control of the public revenues of the Thessalian League (i.e. the profits from its harbours and markets)
32	Philippos II (351-350 BCE)	Dem. *Κατὰ Φιλίππου Α΄* 4.34	Piracy: Demoshenes accuses Philippos in making profit out of piratical activity, harassing the Athenian allies by raiding their commercial vessels. Philippos is also said to have carried off the citizens of Imbros and Lemnos captive and to have seized the shipping at Gairestos levying untold sums of money
33	Philippos II (348 BCE)	Diod. 16.53.2-3, Dem. *Περὶ τῆς Παραπρεσβείας* 19.114, 19.167	Bribery: Diodoros preserves the famous phrase that "*διὰ χρυσίου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ηὐξηκέναι τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν.*" Philippos distributed money to the most influential men in various cities and thus was able to corrupt their judgment. After the capture of Olynthos, Philippos acquired the Chalkidian mines, rich in gold, silver, copper and iron. The Chalkidian coinage was suspended and Philippos coined his first 'Philippeioi' with which he bribed several cities into surrender (*διδοὺς χρυσίον*). See Hammond (1995b). That Philippos' gold was coined can be inferred from Demosthenes' accusations that Philokrates paraded the unmistakable Makedonian-sourced coinage in his commercial dealings and even changed it at the bank.
34	Philippos II (348 BCE)	Diod. 16.53.3	Rewards for gallantry in action (*ἀνδραγαθήσαντας*): Philippos rewarded with appropriate gifts those amongst his soldiers who showed bravery in battle. Cf. Diod. 16.75.3-4,

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
			where in the siege of Perinthous the Makedones were driven by the rewards of victory; a wealthy city to sack and Philippos' gifts. Cf. also Diod. 16.86.6, where the valiant in the Battle of Chaironeia were similarly rewarded
35	Philippos II (347-343 -?- BCE)	Dem. *Περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας* 19.265	Lasthenes of Olynthos (Dem. *Περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου* 18.48) is accused of bribery for having built his roof in Olynthos with timber given to him as a gift from Makedonia. Cf. Diod. 16.53.2
36	Philippos II (*c.* 346) BCE	Isok. *Φίλιππος* 5.5	Amphipolis, by that time incorporated fully within the Kingdom of Makedonia, contributed revenues (*προσόδους*) to Philippos. As part of the national territory, Amphipolis should have been free of tax. The revenues that Isokrates is referring to could involve tolls and other taxes on the import and export of goods. The volume of trade in Amphipolis, given its strategic location at the mouth of the Strymon, must have been considerable. For the Athenians also exacting significant "*χρημάτων προσόδῳ*" (Thouk. 4.108.1) from Amphipolis, at a time when it was an independent ally, see Isaac (1986), pp. 39-40
37	Philippos II (344/343 BCE)	Diod. 16.69.7	Booty: In a campaign against the Illyrians, Philippos ravaged the countryside, captured many towns and return to Makedonia laden with booty (*μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων*). Cf. Diod. 16.53.3: Similarly, a few years back Olynthos (348 BCE) was plundered and its male population and property sold to slavery (*διαρπάσας δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἐλαφυροπώλησε*). By doing so Philippos came up with the funds to pursue the war against the Athenians Cf. - Arr. *Anab*. 1.1.13-2.1, where Alexandros captured all the women, children and property of the Thrakes that he could lay his hands on and sent it to the cities on the Makedonian coast (335 BCE) - Arr. *Anab*. 1.4.5, where Alexandros collects all the booty left behind by the Getai (335 BCE). - Arr. *Anab*. 7.10.4, where Alexandros retorts his Makedones at Opis for having received such high pay, and for having carried off so much booty wherever this could be got
38	Philippos II (348 BCE)	Aisch. *Περὶ τῆς Παραπρεσβείας*	Royal exploitation of Crown property: Aischines describes prisoners from Olynthos, friends of Satyros the comic actor, who were

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
		2.156	working the vineyards of Philippos bound by chains (*αἰχμαλώτους σκάπτοντας ἐν τῷ Φιλίππου ἀμπελουργείῳ καὶ δεδεμένους παρὰ πότον*). Cf. Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.6, where the prisoners of the Granikos (334 BCE) were bound in fetters and sent back to Makedonia to work (*ἐργάζεσθαι*)
39	Philippos II (343 BCE)	[Dem.] *Περὶ Ἁλοννήσου* 7.9-13	Philippos sent ambassadors to negotiate an inter-state legal agreement (*σύμβολον*) with Athens. The main objective of this contract would be to regulate commercial suits between Makedones and Athenians. However, the author of the speech (possibly Hegessipos) is critical of the initiative as none of Philippos' predecessors ever pursued such arrangements with the Athenians. These were especially redundant at the time of the speech on the grounds that commercial relations between the two political units were more infrequent than before, as well as because currently such suits were regulated through *ἔμμηνοι δίκαι* strictly within thirty days of their occurring. The complaints were settled during the winter months when the seas were closed off to trade
40	Philippos II (343 BCE)	[Dem.] *Περὶ Ἁλοννήσου* 7.39-41	Crown ownership in the Thrakian Chersonesos: Philippos treats the whole of the North of the Agora as his own property (*τὸν μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἅπαντα* […] *ὡς ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα*) and has granted as a private estate (*δέδωκε καρποῦσθαι*) to Apollonides of Kardia. The South of the Agora he also treats as his own (*ὡς ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς καρποῦται*) and while he has kept part of it for himself he has bestowed pieces of it to others (*δωρειὰν δέδωκε*)
41	Philippos II (343 BCE)	Diod. 16.71.2	After defeating the Thrakes in battle Philippos imposed the payment of a tithe (*δεκάτη*) to the Makedones as tribute. He also planted new cities in strategic places to keep a check on their power. Cf. Just. 8.5.7, 8.6.1-2: Philippos transplanted peoples and cities here and there, according to his whim and according to whether he thought places needed to be populated for strategic purposes (i.e. on the frontiers to oppose his enemies). On occasion, he would settle prisoners of war in order to strengthen the population of certain towns. In this way, he addressed the demographic organisation of the Kingdom
42	Philippos II (340 BCE)	Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 292, Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 162 (Didymos *On*	Instance of economic warfare: Philippos detained through military force an Athenian grain fleet of about 200 ships in Hieron, at the entrance of the Bosporos. The interception of their cargo gave him seven hundred talents in profit. The criticality of an uninterrupted grain

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
		Demosthenes 10.34)	trade for Athens is illustrated by the fact that following the incident the Athenians declared war on the Kingdom of Makedonia (Harding 2006: 210-211) Cf. Dem. 18.241, where in 330 BCE Philippos is presented as the master of Hellenic grain trade: "*τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος*"
43	Alexandros III (during the reign of Philippos II - 340 BCE)	Plout. *Alex*. 9.1	When Alexandros was left regent of Makedonia for the duration of Philippos' expedition against Byzantion, he took over the city of the Thrakian tribe called Maidoi and re-founded it as Alexandroupolis. The population settled there was mixed. Cf. Diod. 17.83.2 for the foundation of cities of non-Makedonian population by Alexandros, the names of which are not preserved
44	Philippos II (340/339 BCE)	Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 225b	Philippos' Companions, who in that year were not more than 800, derived more income from their lands that the ten thousand richest landowners in Hellas put together
45	Philippos II (338 BCE)	Paus. 1.34.1	After his victory in Chaironeia, Philippos presented the Athenians with the city-state of Oropos, which he regained from the Thebans. For his promises in the 340s to restore Oropos and Euboia to the Athenians in exchange for Amphipolis see Dem. 6.30, Dem. 5.10. Cf. [Dem.] 7.2-3, where Philippos suggested to grant the island of Alonnesos, which he had freed from pirates and considered his own property, as a gift to the Athenians
46	Alexandros III (336-334 BCE)	Dem. *Περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Συνθηκῶν* 17.10	Alexandros overthrew the democratic institutions in Pellene, had the majority of its citizens expelled and their property given (*τοῖς οἰκέταις δέδωκε*) to slaves
47	Alexandros III (335 BCE)	Just. 11.3.6	At the beginning of his reign Alexandros made peace with the Thessaloi. Like they had done with his father (Dem. 1.22), they resigned to him all their public revenues and customs dues (*uectigalia omnia reditusque suos*)
48	Alexandros III (335 BCE)	*SEG* 34:664	Alexandros' settlement regarding the frontier dispute between the town of Philippoi and the Thrakes. Through his ambassadors, Philotas and Leonnatos, he maintained the allocations/gifts of land made earlier by Philippos II. Alexandros granted permission to the Philippians to cultivate royal land in return for rent (or tribute) <*προστελοῦσ*[ι…]> The land in question, formerly known as Krenides, might have involved reclaimed marshland from the reign of Philippos II *c.* 350-340 BCE (cf. Theoph. *CP* 5.14.5-6, who speaks of which it

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
			the only evidence) Alexandros also publicised a temporary ban on the sale of timber from Mt Dysoron. While the king controlled the timber resources of the kingdom, it appears as if in this case the Philippians were granted certain rights to sell timber, which were now suspended: "*τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν ἐν Δυ*[σώρ]*ωι μηθένα πωλεῖν τέως ἡ πρεσβεία πα*[ρά τοῦ Ἀλε]*ξάνδρου ἐπανέλθηι*" (cf. [Dem.] 17.28, where he states at the beginning of Alexandros' reign that timber is difficult to come by in Athens
49	Alexandros III (335 BCE)	Arr. *Anab*. 1.3.1-4.8	Alexandros ordered the fitting of a small Makedonian fleet in Byzantion and sailed it up the Danube. Having subdued the tribes settled near the Danube, he was in the position to control the traffic of merchandise that came down the river
50	Alexandros III 335/334 BCE	*SEG* 36:626	The re-organisation of the Chalkidian town of Kalindoia and its neighbouring villages of Thamiskia, Kamakaia and Tripoatis. Alexandros granted these lands to the Makedones (*ἔδωκε*)
51	Alexandros III (334-323 BCE)	Theoph. *Char*. 23.4	During his regency for Alexandros Antipatros is presented as exercising his royal prerogative of granting tax privileges for the export of timber to individual entrepreneurs, Makedonian or foreign. In this case, Theophrastos' boastful man is allowed to export timber free of duty (*ἀτελοῦς*)
52	Alexandros III (334-320)	*OGIS* 1 (= *I. Priene* 132)	Letter of Alexandros regulating land ownership at Naulochos (the port-town of Priene): The citizens of Naulochos, who were Prienians remained free, autonomous and owners of the buildings and land in the city and the countryside. To the contrary, the land of non-Prienians in the area was declared royal land – belonging to Alexandros (*χώραν* [γ]*ι νώσκω ἐμὴν εἶναι*)- and the inhabitants were subject to taxes (*φόρους*). The city of Priene itself was relieved from taxation
53	Alexandros III Late 330s-early 320s	Strab. 9.2.18	The reclamation of Lake Kopais in Boiotia. Strabon reports that Alexandros III had employed Krates of Chalkis, a mining engineer, to clear or maintain the channels that drained the lake free from obstructions. According to Krates' letter to Alexandros, although work was being stalled due to political unrest in Boiotia, a good part of the lake had already been drained. Cf. Hammond (1972-1988, III: 31) suggested that Alexandros was also interested in land reclamation in the area of Amphipolis, but evidence is scarce

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
54	Alexandros III (334 BCE)	Plout. *Alex*. 15.1 (see also Anaximenes *FGrHist* 72 F 29, Phylarchos *FGrHist* 81 F 77), Arr. *Anab*. 7.9.6	Ploutarchos comments on the financial situation of the King right before the Asian Expedition, which was tenuous. According to his sources, Alexandros had 70 talents to provision for his thirty thousand foot soldiers and four thousand cavalrymen (Aristoboulos), cf. Arr. *Anab*. 1.11.3. Duris spoke of a sum sufficient for only thirty days of maintenance, while Onesikritos mentioned that the King was two hundred talanta in debt at the time. Arrianos records that Alexandros inherited only a few precious metal goblets from Philippos, less than 60 talanta in cash and another 500 in debt. In order to embark into the expedition he was obliged to borrow another 800
55	Alexandros III (334 BCE)	Plout. *Alex*. 15.2-3, Just. 11.5.5	Royal grants to hetairoi and philoi on the eve of the Asian Expedition: Perhaps because he borrowed heavily from his courtiers (Arr. *Anab*. 7.9.6) in order to finance the campaign, Alexandros gave them in return grants from the crown property (*τῶν βασιλικῶν*): "*ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ μὲν ἀγρόν, τῷ δὲ κώμην, τῷ δὲ συνοικίας πρόσοδον ἢ λιμένος*." This way he distributed most of his possessions in the Kingdom to those who would accept his favours
56	Alexandros III (334 BCE)	Diod. 17.17.2 Just. 11.5.10-11	*Γῆ δορίκτητος*: Alexandros claimed Asia as his personal prize from the gods (*παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀπεφαίνετο τὴν Ἀσίαν δέχεσθαι δορίκτητον*) by hurling his spear on the ground as soon as his ship landed on the shore. Spear-won territory generally meant that it was crown territory (*βασιλικὴ χώρα*). Cf. Arr. Anab. 7.4.2: all the lands that Alexandros had conquered in Asia were dubbed "*δορίκτητοι*." Cf. Diod. 19.105.4: Following the murder of Roxanne and Alexandros IV ordered by Kassandros, the Diadochoi could pretend that their realms were won by their spear (*βασιλείαν δορίκτητον*)
57	Alexandros III (334 BCE)	Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.5, Arr. *Anab*. 7.10.4	Most comprehensive statement of taxation in the Kingdom: In the context of the favours granted to the men killed in action at the Battle of Granikos Alexandros remitted their parents and children from taxes (*ἀτέλειαν*, *εἰσφοραί*) and services (*λειτουργίαι*). The taxes pertained to the use of royal land (*τὴν χώραν*), to which the dead were probably grantees, and property (*κτήσεις*). As far as the services are concerned these were most probably public services (and hardly military, cf. Just. 11.1.10) involving possibly other regular *per capita* financial

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
			contributions (possibly import and export taxes on goods passing through the land), provision of draught animals, personal labour in public works and the like. Arr. *Anab*. 7.10.4 (*οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἔντιμοί εἰσι λειτουργίας τε ξυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι*) implies that similar remissions were granted to the families of the dead in subsequent battles
58	Alexandros III (334 BCE)	Arr. *Anab*. 1.17.3-8	Sardeis (Sparda) is surrendered to Alexandros along with its treasury. The king proceeds to appoint officials for the collection of the tribute and taxes pertaining to the administration of the city (*τῶν δὲ φόρων τῆς συντάξεώς τε καὶ ἀποφορᾶς*)
59	Alexandros III (334/3 BCE)	Arr. *Anab*. 1.27.4	Alexandros demanded from the Aspendians to surrender their most influential men as hostages, horses, a hundred talents as retribution and an annual tribute (*φόρους*) payable to the Makedones
60	Alexandros III (333 BCE)	Curt. 3.11.23	Spoils of war: After the battle of Issos, the soldiers of Alexandros captured the tent of Dareios and presented it to the king intact. Alongside the symbolism of the victor taking hold of the seat of power of the vanquished, Dareios' opulent tent was part of the booty. Cf. Arr. Anab. 7.9.7-8 where it becomes evident that soldiers were allowed access to booty at the discretion of the king: "*τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἑκόντα προσχωρήσαντα λαβὼν ὑμῖν καρποῦσθαι ἔδωκα*"
61	Alexandros III (331 BCE)	Arr. *Anab*. 3.16.3-5	Babylon is surrendered to Alexandros along with its treasury and he appointed Asklepiodoros, son of Philon, as a tax collector (*τοὺς φόρους ἐκλέγειν*)
62	Alexandros III (331 BCE)	Arr. *Anab*. 3.16.6-7	The inhabitants of Susa surrendered the city to Alexandros along with the entirety of their treasury and the rest of the royal property. The treasury contained the equivalent of 50.000 silver talanta
63	Alexandros III or his Successors (331-313 BCE)	*Ep. Cat.* N. 1, ll. 10-17 (Perlman 2000), *SEG* 36:331	The Nemean list of Theorodokoi records the financial contributions of Makedonian cities such as Amphipolis, Lete and Allante (or Atalante) for the Nemean Games. Note the evolution of theodorokia in Makedonia from being solely the duty of the King (*Ep. Cat.* E. 1, Frg b, l. 9, Perlman 2000: Perdikkas III serving as theorodokos for the whole of Makedonia, 360/359 BCE) to being served by different communities. Of this evolution this is our earliest evidence. Cf. Plassart (1921), col. III, ll. 51-97, where the contributions of a host of Makedonian cities to the Sanctuary at Delphi

#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
			are recorded *c.* 230-210 BCE
64	Alexandros III (330 BCE)	Diod. 17.70	Alexandros gave the city of Persepolis over to his soldiers to plunder (*τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκεν εἰς διαρπαγὴν*). Only the palace was off limits. Persepolis is described as the richest city under the sun, with many wealthy private households
65	Alexandros III (330 BCE)	Diod. 17.71.1, Curt. 5.6.9	Alexandros took hold of the accumulated revenues of the Persian Kings from the treasury at Persepolis. The total in the treasury amounted to 120.000 silver talanta when all metals were converted to the silver standard. This was done according to a ratio that Diodoros does not specify. Alexandros is said to have used a part to finance the expedition and the rest he ordered to be safely deposited in other palaces. It was finally transported to Ecbatana under the supervision of Parmenion (Arr. *Anab.* 3.19.7) and handed over to Harpalos. Curt. 5.6.11 alone records that a certain Tiridates surrendered the treasury to Alexandros and for that he was rewarded by the King Regarding the burning of the palace of Persepolis, Parmenion advised Alexandros that it was not wise to destroy what was already his own property: *αὐτοῦ κτήματα ἤδη* (Arr. *Anab.* 3.18.11)
66	Alexandros III (326/325 BCE)	*Syll.*[3] 302 (*IMT Kaikos* 923)	Individual entrepreneurs: A certain Krateuas ceded (*ἔδωκεν*) a field, building plots and an orchard to a certain Aristomenes. The latter was to exploit the land directly, as well as pay an annual rent of a chrysous (a gold stater or two gold drachmai) for the orchard
67	Alexandros III (325 BCE)	*CID* 2.100	The Makedones donated directly in their name the sum of 10.500 staters to the Delphic Amphiktyony
68	Alexandros III (324 BCE)	Arr. *Anab.* 7.9	The Opis Speech: - 7.9.2-5: An evolution from transhumant pastoralism to settled agriculture and city-living is described, effected during the reign of Philippos II. Mention is also made to the commercial expansion of the Kingdom and the proliferation of mining as a business - 7.9.9: Alexandros refers to the "wealth of the Makedones" (*ὑμέτερα κτήματα*) and to the fact the King is simply the guardian thereof, cf. Curt. 10.6.23 (323 BCE)
69	Alexandros III (323 BCE)	Just. 13.1.9	Upon the death of Alexandros there were 50.000 talanta in the royal treasury and 30.000

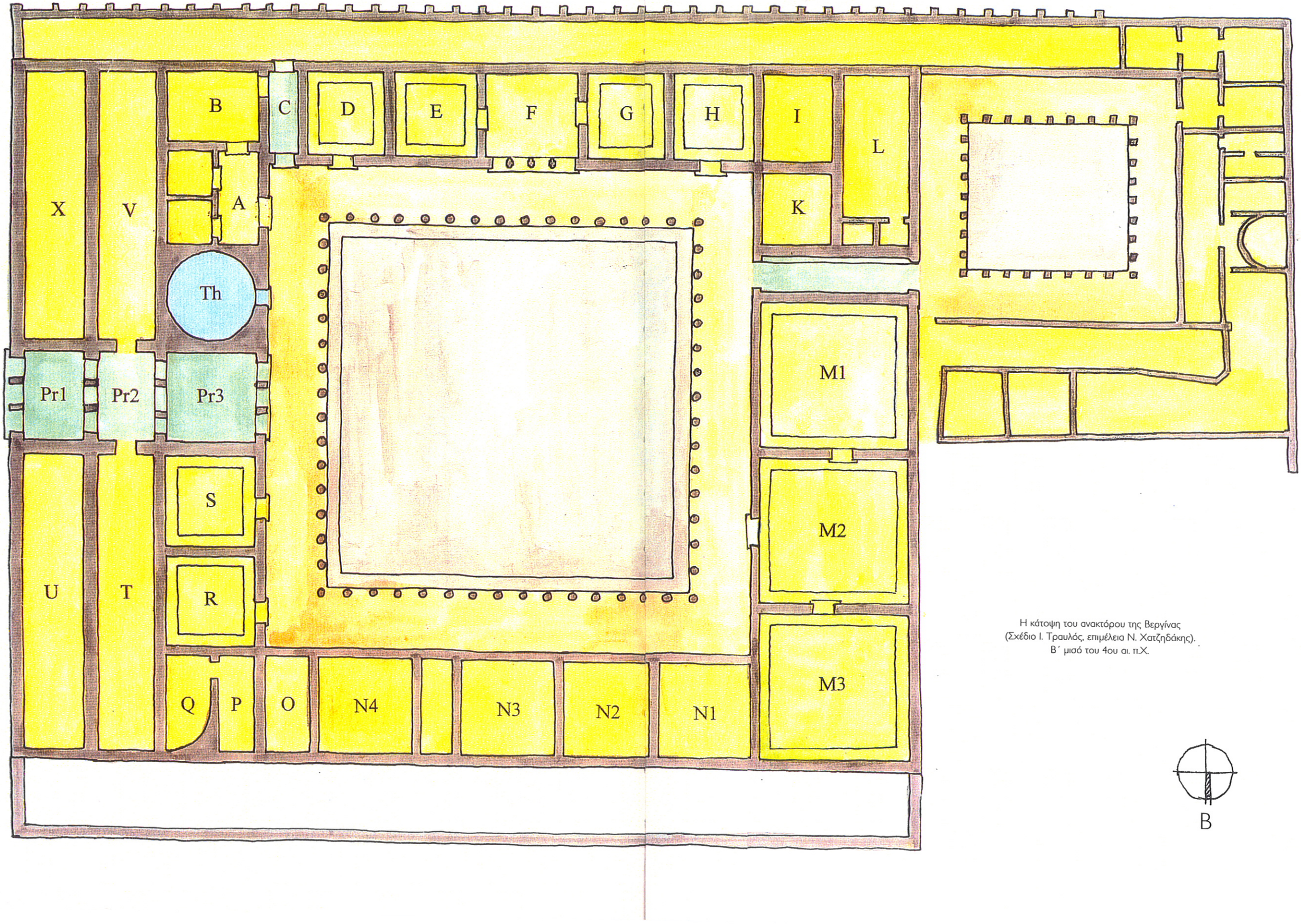
#	REIGN	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
			more were coming in from the annual tax tribute (*annuo uectigali tributo*) of the conquered territories
70	Successors of Alexandros III (after 323 BCE)	*IG* IV 617	Makedonian poleis had their own finances. *IG* IV 617 records the financial contributions of poleis such as Aigai, Edessa, Atalante, Europos, Kasandreia and Philippoi to the Sanctuary of Hera at Argos, or to the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros (Perlman 2000: 127-128)
71	Perseus (168 BCE)	Liv. 44.46.6-8	The man-made citadel of Phakos in the marshland surrounding Pella housed the Royal Treasury of the Makedones (*gaza regia*). At the time after the Battle of Pydna it was empty, save three hundred talanta that Gentius (the Illyrian king of the Ardiaioi) had sent
72	Perseus (November 167 BCE)	Liv. 45.40.1-3 Plout. *Aem.* 32-34	The wealth of the Makedonian (and Epirote) states made a terrific impression on the Romans. The gold and silver in the procession of Lucius Aemilius Paulus (granted the cognomen Macedonicus by the Senate) amounted to more than 120.000.000 sestertii. Livius also mentions that Perseus had spent an equal amount of money on preparing the war against the Romans and on financing his flight to Samothrake. He adds that all this money was accumulated over thirty years from the profits of the mines and from other sources. Unlike his predecessor Philippos V, who was short on cash when he undertook his wars against the Romans, Perseus was quite well off. (Cf. Polyb. 18.44, Liv. 33.30, for the war indemnity that Philippos V was forced to pay the Romans after his defeat in the Second Makedonian War: one thousand talanta, half as a lump sum and the rest in ten annual instalments. Perseus made attempts to resolve his own defeat in 168 BCE on similar financial terms, but was unsuccessful: Polyb. 27.8.2, Liv. 42.62.) Ploutarchos records among the Makedonian treasures paraded in Aemilius' triumph 2.250 silver talanta and 231 gold ones

ARGEAD MINTING ACTIVITY[26]

PERIOD	STANDARD & WEIGHT	NOTES
Late sixth century (*c.* 525-510 BCE)	Thrako-Makedonian* silver tetradrachm (*c.* 14,45g) * The weight of the local Makedonian standard varied from time to time. From quite early on, there was a discrepancy in weight between issues intended for export and those for local consumption, the latter being somewhat lighter. The Thrako-Makedonian standard was used by the Chalkidians in Olynthos, the Amphipolitans and the Akanthians	Beginnings of Makedonian minting: The Thrako-Makedonian ethne and a few poleis, including Verge, Aineia, Mende, Potidaia, Skione and Akanthos, mint and release into circulation the first silver coins in the region. The mineral wealth of Makedonia allowed those ethne and poleis to mint high-value denominations, such as octodrachms, dekadrachms and dodekadrachms. Interestingly, the first Makedonian coin bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ appears in the kingdom of the Edonai and dates to 475-465 BCE (*MN* 1). The independent minting of the Thrako-Makedonian ethne came to an end shortly before the middle of the 5th c. BCE
Alexandros I (498-454 BCE)	Thrako-Makedonian silver tetradrachm (*c.* 14,45g and lighter)	Launched the first royal coinage. He minted the first high-value royal silver coins (octodrachms and tetradrachms) but also various other smaller denominations
Perdikkas II (451-413 BCE)	Thrako-Makedonian silver tetradrachm (*c.* 14,45g and lighter)	The military and political instability of Perdikkas' reign is reflected on his minting activity. He produced only small silver octobols and smaller denominations. This lack can be explained by the fact that during his turbulent reign he must have lost control over the all-important Bisaltian and Paggaion mines
Archelaos (413-400/399 BCE)	Abandonment of the local Makedonian standard. Silver staters of *c.* 10.90g (akin to the weight of the Persian daric)	Introduced high denominational coins (silver staters) of a reduced standard (*c.* 10.90g), as well as the first bronze coinage in the history of the Makedonian Kingdom. The Makedonian bronze coinage is also one of the earliest in the Hellenic world. Athens introduced bronze coins with a silver coating in 407 BCE. As a result of the first, he created a closed currency zone in which only his coinage circulated. The bronze coinage indicates a larger emphasis on cash exchange, as opposed to barter. This innovation maximized revenues from minting by saving up on the precious metals reserves, but also from taxation, which was easier to control. The recognisability of

[26] Essential reading includes: West (1923), Price (1974, 1991), Franke (1972), le Rider (1977, 1996), Thompson (1982), Arnold-Biucchi (2006), *Makedonias Nomisma* (MN) Catalogue (2009)

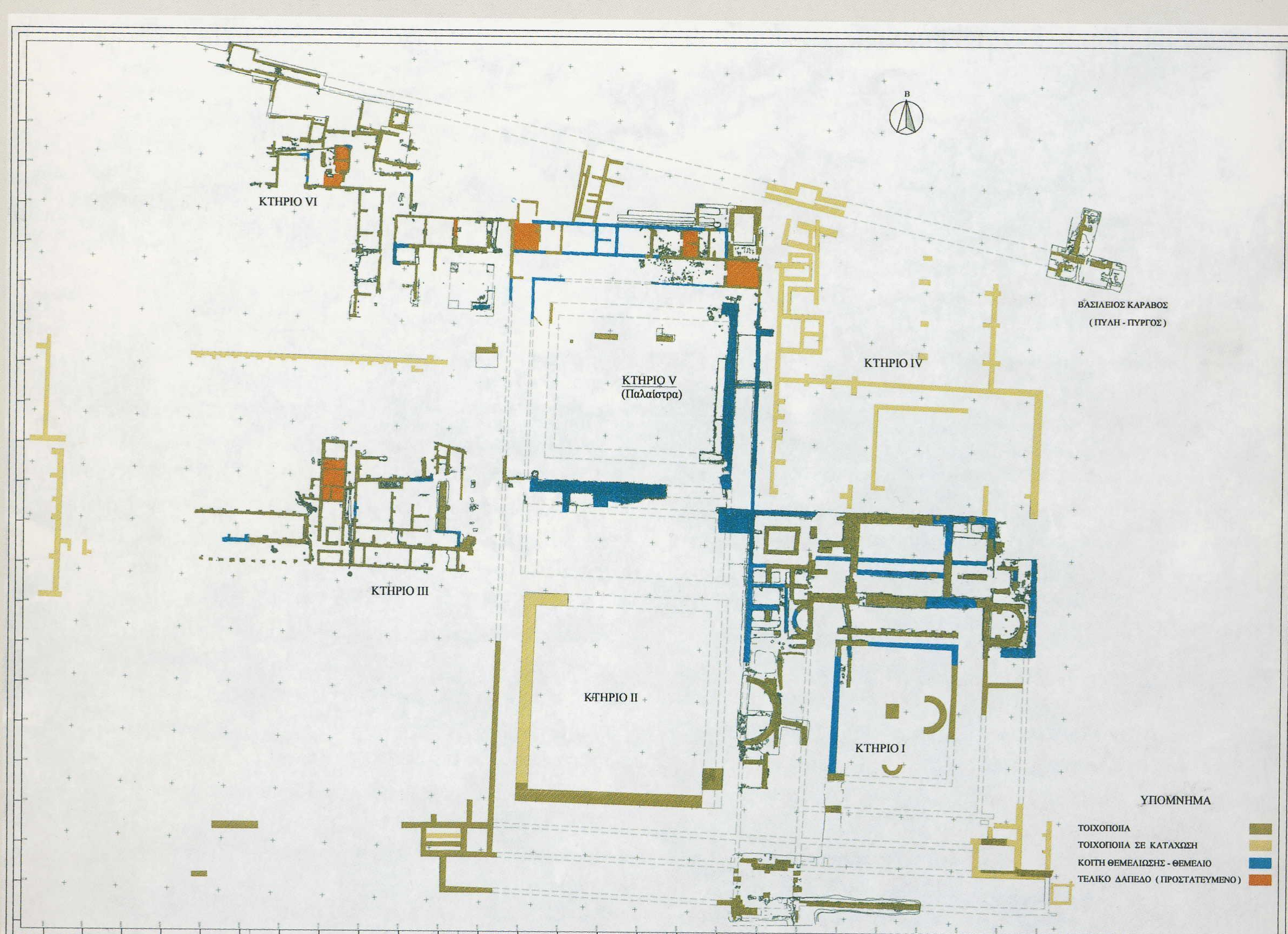
		the reduced standard facilitated trade with favoured partners (i.e. Athens)
Period of Dynastic Instability (399-359 BCE)	Silver staters akin to the Persian standard of Archelaos, but of even lighter weights	The kings of this period minted limited amounts of silver staters and their denominations. It appears that the bullion originated from the state reserves, which soon became depleted, as is suggested by the reduction in the weight of the silver staters of Pausanias (395/4-393 BCE) and Amyntas III (393-370/369 BCE) - *MN* 19-23. Alexandros II (370/369BCE) minted only in bronze. Perdikkas III (365-359 BCE) re-introduced high quality silver staters and their denominations
Philippos II (359-336 BCE)	Silver tetradrachms of the Thrako-Makedonian standard (*c.* 14,45g). Gold Philippeioi on the Attic standard (*c.* 8.60g)	Introduced bimetallism (gold and silver) in the royal coinage of Makedonia. Bronze circulated widely to address the domestic needs of the state. Mints operated in Pella and Amphipolis. In 356 BCE Philippos minted silver tetradrachms, didrachms and other denominations on the local Makedonian standard. Post-348 BCE the so-called gold "Philippeioi" emerged, which substituted the golden daric in international exchange. Philippos' reign sees the end of the independent minting of Makedonian poleis, which resumes only during the reign of the last two Antigonid Kings, Philippos V and Perseus
Alexandros III (336-323 BCE)	336-333 BCE: Silver tetradrachms on the Thrako-Makedonian standard (*c.* 14,45g) 333-323 BCE: Silver tetradrachms on the Attic standard (*c.* 17.20g)	After three years of maintaining the numismatic program of his father, Alexandros reverts to the internationally recognized Attic standard. There were 26 working mints during his reign to address the demand for coin payments of an entire expeditionary force
Philippos III (323-317 BCE)	Attic standard (*c.* 17.20g)	Philippos continued the minting of Alexandros' types and standard. The local Makedonian standard was maintained for circulation in the north of Makedonia



Η κάτοψη του ανακτόρου της Βεργίνας
(Σχέδιο Ι. Τραυλός, επιμέλεια Ν. Χατζηδάκης).
Β΄ μισό του 4ου αι. π.Χ.

B

APPENDIX D



25. Η κάτοψη του Ανακτόρου.
The ground plan of the Palace.

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